

THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

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Editor, The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, 1955-1982

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Memorial Tributes to Faculty
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The Princeton Seminary Bulletin

VOL. IV

NEW SERIES 1983

NUMBER 1

Ronald C. White, Jr., Editor

J.J.M. Roberts, Book Review Editor

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THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

The Bulletin is published three times annually by the Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church at Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

Each issue is mailed free of charge to all alumni/ae and on exchange basis with various institutions. Back issues are not available.

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Book Review Editor

Ronald C. White, Jr. J.J.M. Roberts

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor and accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped return envelope.

Second Class postage pending at Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN



Editor, The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, 1955-1982

Tribute to Donald Macleod

A notable changing of the guard takes place with the publication of this number of the *Princeton Seminary Bulletin*. Dr. Donald Macleod succeeded to the position of Editor in 1955 and served with distinction until the fall of 1982. The Seminary and its graduates throughout the world owe him an incalculable debt for the careful attention that he brought to this journal as each number was prepared. When the late Dean Elmer G. Homrighausen visited overseas alumni to ascertain the Seminary's continuing obligation to them, he reported that the *Bulletin* was our most appreciated publication and was read from cover to cover by all who received it.

Dr. Macleod sought to have the *Bulletin* reflect each quarter the tenor of the campus, and through articles, sermons, and book reviews to keep alumni current on theological trends and developments. His own editorials were always penetrating and carefully crafted, aimed at the minister in his or her weekly responsibility of sermon preparation and pastoral guidance. All this was done on the side, so to speak, for Dr. Macleod carried at the same time a full load in teaching and in listening to and criticizing sermons. He estimates that he has heard and analyzed more than six thousand sermons during his tenure in Princeton. As the Francis Landey Patton Professor of Preaching and Worship, he has prepared thousands of preachers and numerous teachers of preachers.

Dr. Macleod is a gift of Canada to Princeton. Born in Nova Scotia, he took degrees in Dalhousie University, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, and Emmanuel College in Toronto. In the course of his training he developed a passion for style and high standards for writing and speaking. His sermons are always ready for publication when they are delivered. It is said that Canada fuses the best of two worlds. From the old world come style and culture, and from the new world dynamism and vitality. In Donald Macleod we see a happy combination of these two worlds, a combination that has enriched the readers of the *Bulletin* for nearly three decades.

As Editor he has managed to stay on course in the face of adverse winds and heavy tides. He has never been a faddist. While he has been sensitive to trends in the life of the Church and society, he has refrained from being trendy. The reason for this steady course is undoubtedly his deep commitment to the Christian faith, to the centrality of Jesus Christ, and to the mission of the Church, including the local Church. Hence the *Bulletin* under his leadership has always remained at the center.

A few years ago many were saying that preaching is dead, that moderns can no longer be reached and influenced from the pulpit. It was at this time that Dr. Macleod conceived the Academy of Homilectics, and along with two colleagues brought it into being.

Now the Academy has more than a hundred members representing virtually every denomination in the United States and Canada and is a potent instrument for enriching the teaching of preaching and lifting the standards of worship throughout the Church. Recently the Academy held its annual meeting in Princeton and at a banquet paid tribute to Donald Macleod for his distinguished career

in teaching, editing, and scholarship. Nine of his Ph.D's were present to celebrate this occasion.

On August 31, 1983, Dr. Macleod will retire from his professorship but he will not retire from the Church. He will continue to write, lecture, and preach, and readers of the *Bulletin* hope that he will continue to contribute to this journal.

The new Editor, Dr. Ronald C. White, Jr., brings great gifts to his new responsibilities. A native of Minnesota, he took his baccalaureate degree at U.C.L.A., his divinity degree in Princeton Seminary, and his Ph.D. in Princeton University. A fellowship gave him a year's study at Lincoln Theological College in England, and already he has an enviable publishing record in American Church History. Nearly two years ago he returned to Princeton as Associate Director of Continuing Education, and from this position he is bringing freshness and creativity into this vital dimension of the Seminary's educational ministry. Already well-known to many generations of Princetonians, he will become even better known through the pages of the *Bulletin* and through the seminars in Continuing Education that he is leading throughout the nation. We welcome him to his new post in the confidence that he will give the same quality of diligence and care to the production of the *Bulletin* that it received under the direction of Dean Edward H. Roberts and Dr. Donald Macleod.

JAMES I. McCORD

“FOR THE GOOD OF THE COMPANY”

by RONALD C. WHITE, JR., EDITOR

In taking up the post as Editor, I am deeply conscious of the heritage and purpose of the *Princeton Seminary Bulletin*. I am grateful to President McCord for the invitation to participate in this continuing tradition. Founded in 1907, for seventy-five years the *Bulletin* has been a bridge between the Seminary community at Princeton and the Seminary family around the world. The intention of the new journal was expressed in 1908 in these words: “The main purpose, in the publication of the *Seminary Bulletin*, is to extend to the Alumni a cordial greeting and to suggest to them items of interest in the active life of the Seminary.” For one recently returned to the campus, an exclamation point can be added to the descriptive word “active”! For that first issue 2,500 copies were printed. For this issue more than 11,000 copies will be printed. In addition to alumni/ae, the *Bulletin* is sent to theological libraries and to friends of the Seminary.

In this issue we honor Donald Macleod who served as Editor from 1955 to 1982. Professor Macleod is Francis Landey Patton Professor of Preaching and Worship and will retire at the end of this academic year. President McCord has submitted a tribute to Donald Macleod which speaks eloquently of his contribution to the Seminary and the Church. If the role of preacher, and teacher of preachers, is particularly visible, the role of Editor is often invisible. But behind the scenes Don has worked in his characteristically thorough way to produce a journal that enjoys a wide respect and readership. Since becoming Editor I have been involved in numerous conversations where I have been told of the centrality of the *Bulletin* in the reading portfolio of alumni/ae. Walking in Donald Macleod’s footsteps these past months has made for a firsthand appreciation of all that he has done to make the *Bulletin* of value to so many.

With this issue we return to the practice of a Book Review Editor. J.J.M. Roberts, William Henry Green Professor of Old Testament Literature, will serve in this capacity. Professor Roberts joined the Seminary faculty in 1979, having previously taught at Dartmouth, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Toronto. He is already known to readers of the *Bulletin* for both articles and book reviews. Together we have decided on a policy of inviting Princeton alumni/ae to join with members of the faculty in reviewing books.

Writing this first editorial on the morning after the annual Christmas dinner given by President and Mrs. McCord for the faculty and staff, I am struck afresh by the “good company” that is the Seminary community. Former teachers, this year’s retirees, new faculty and staff, all gathering at the last Christmas dinner to be hosted by the McCords, combined to evoke a deep sense of gratitude in this Princetonian. The memorial minutes in this issue, which honor five giants of the faculty, remind us of the communion of the saints. Reading these tributes will surely unite alumni/ae of different generations in appreciation of their teachers.

This is a time of transition everywhere in the life of the Seminary. Individuals will come and go, but the larger reality is the collective nature of the educational

enterprise. This Seminary exists for the purpose of training men and women for the Church's ministry. In this regard, I want to underline a theme and speak to a problem. With the dusty pages of old *Bulletins* on the desk, and the remarkable gifts of colleagues particularly vivid, I am led to ask about the nature of the gifts and talents given for ministry. My observation is that there is a lively conversation in the Church today about gifts and the discerning of gifts. My concern is that the New Testament teaching on gifts or talents can be subtly squeezed into the mold of cultural patterns. The understanding of gifts is being influenced by a whole cluster of societal forces fostering an emphasis on self-fulfillment. The discerning of gifts can become simply an avenue to personal edification. The problem is that personal achievement does not necessarily translate into corporate good.

But there is another model. John Calvin, commenting on the multiplication of the talents in the parable in Matthew 25:14-30, declares that our individual talents are to be used "for the good of the company." For Calvin the critical transaction is not simply the doubling of the talents but the use to which they are put. He says: "We see many who are devoted to themselves . . . and have no regard for the common edification." Going so far as to reject any distinction between spiritual and natural gifts, Calvin builds on the metaphor of trading in the marketplace to point to the usefulness of individual gifts for the service of others.

I have been helped in understanding "the good of the company" by Mario Miegge. Professor Miegge has been a Visiting Fellow here at the Seminary, on leave from the University of Ferrara where he serves as Professor of Philosophy. He is a member of the Waldensian Church in Italy. In his studies he discovered how Calvin's commentary on the parable of the talents overturned the exegesis of the medieval church which, in all of its variations, worked out the understanding of talents within the framework of a persistent individualism. Even more fascinating was his discovery in his studies here at the Seminary that in the years after Calvin the exegesis of the parable evidences a return to an individualistic interpretation.

The issue today is not talent—it is the use of talent. The history of exegesis reflects a tendency in church life. At the extreme there is nothing more tragic than a talented person caught up in egoism so that gifts are not set free in the service of others. But there are so many subtle ways that self-fulfillment and personal achievement can invade and infect the best intentions in ministry.

At this time of transition and new beginnings, it may be worth asking how people and talents become productive. To discern one's gifts can mean moving from an individual to a corporate exercise. This process is energized when a vision is caught of the beauty of the larger tapestry taking shape around us. Calvin tells us that "no form of life is more praiseworthy before God than that which yields usefulness to human society." It is not talent but use of talent that is finally meaningful. To believe this can mean the opportunity to challenge cultural norms by living out a pattern wherein talents are used "for the good of the company."

To Live as if a Sojourner

by GAIL A. RICCIUTI

Born in Longview, Washington, Gail A. Ricciuti is an alumna of Princeton Theological Seminary and Keuka College in New York. She served as Vice-Moderator of the 189th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in 1977, thus becoming the first clergywoman and youngest person ever to preside over the church's highest judicatory. Presently co-pastor of the First United Presbyterian Church in Byron, New York, Dr. Ricciuti was the first woman to be invited as the school's commencement speaker.

Commencement Address, June 2, 1982

IS THERE not something incongruous about the setting?—and about us, sitting in this vaulted cathedral all plumed and preened in academic regalia, garbed in the symbols of excellence which are indeed well-earned. The incongruity is that seated in the rarified air of this place are also beings who might easily forget, just for the moment, that our right hand doesn't have the foggiest notion of what our left hand is up to!

Having touched the surface of the vast expanse called "theology," we might be tempted to think that we have taken the measure of the island on which we've been stranded by accident or by design for several years, and scratch our names into its rocks and go our way "expert" on islands, without realizing that its powerful expanse only unfolds under the surface of the water—a great system of reefs and sunken cities of Atlantis of which we have only the hint. It might be easy to forget, especially in this setting: as Hugh Kerr describes it, an architectural attempt to bring the whole Christian enterprise together "into a tidy but luminescent package."

The beauty and magnificence of the endeavor is our temptation, too.

It would be just as incongruous, but perhaps more appropriate, if you were

to come to receive your degrees under a goatskin tent—and more telling of the Holy One we serve than all the luminescence of glass and stone surrounding us.

I say this, you see, because there are different images of commencement. The traditional sense is that with these hard-earned degrees graduates receive a standing within academic and professional communities. Whether you have studied at Princeton Seminary in preparation for parish or pulpit, classroom or community center, or service far-flung from traditional expectation, you have labored hard, long, joyously, and painfully to begin or continue the construction of a theological foundation: to make sense, ultimately, of life and death in light of faith. And so one way to perceive this day is as a day of arrival: your luggage packed.

The other image I offer is that of a day of relinquishment, a giving up of whatever systems you may have succeeded in putting together. I would commission you at this moment to begin the process of laying down the weighty luggage you've spent time filling up, and to begin unpacking for the lifelong journey in the tradition of the great sojourners of faith. I would confer

upon you not degrees but knapsacks: tickets to a freedom of movement in the Spirit and in the world. Knapsacks, because they are the contemporary symbol of the sojourner.

For this moment, let the great stone walls fall away, and let there be for you rough-hewn poles draped with the black goatskins of nomads. Let there be the grit of sand in your teeth, a relentless sun in your face, a beckoning wind across the desert, and a holy wanderlust stirring in your veins. And you—graduates and all those gathered here who are bonded with you by birth, by love, by labor, by vision—may you for this moment become sojourners in that ancient tradition preceding all academic processions and stretching back before formal theological discipline.

It is the tradition of a Moabitess named Ruth and Abraham of Haran, and each of those called like them to leave behind roots, tradition, and native ties for the land yet to appear. Reflecting on Abraham's story, the writer of Hebrews comments that he arrived in the Promised Land as a foreigner "and lived there *as if* in a strange country" while looking beyond the earthly promise to a city designed by God. The one who had arrived in the boundaries of promise lived there as if he had not. Strange! Yet the language of Scripture for *called* people is most often "strangers, nomads, aliens and exiles . . . sojourners."

The question raised by moments like this is the question of vocation. Perhaps the key to your vocations is the call to live "as if" a sojourner. Having arrived at the Promised Land—June 2, 1982—to live hereon as if in a foreign land, not as a settler but as temporary immigrant. It is to take on the lifestyle of travelling light, after the pattern of a

wandering Aramean, or a Moabite daughter-in-law.

Again today, God says "Go." "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land I will show you." Sojourn—do not settle.

And so instead of degrees, I would confer upon you knapsacks; first, because they are light. One does not travel well abroad with heavy suitcases at the end of her arms. Mobility is limited; and one looks forward eagerly, not to the new experiences around the bend, the city yet unseen, but to room and board at the end of the day—a place to rest, to lay the burden down, *not* to move for a few hours. But the traveler with a knapsack, austere in its emptiness, is free to explore, free to forget himself, and to look forward to a city perhaps envisioned only by God.

With heavy theological luggage at the end of your arms, you will not be free to reach out to those who have none, or to assist those burdened by theirs, relieving them of guilty weight. And have you ever tried to hug someone with suitcases in your hands? With the heavy baggage of a densely-packed, static theological system, you might give those you are called to love twisted sacroiliacs, or worse—lame them for life. With so much luggage at the end of your arms, you could not answer the call—even if you heard it—to serve, to prophesy, to minister, to teach, to offer the best of your life.

It has been important for you to sojourn here for a time. You needed to learn *how* to pack, what was essential, and what you could leave behind. So I am not pleading for a discard of systematic theology, but rather that it not be prematurely vaulted in stone; that you take long years, in the words of

the poet Cavafy, "to anchor at the isle when you are old"—so that there has been the richness of the voyage, the full engagement of theology with life. If there is uncertainty within you today, good! You are ready for the journey.

Instead of degrees, I would confer upon you knapsacks; because they are easy to rearrange. The light weight of a life theology is a relationship with God and faithfulness to God that can be kept contemporary. More even than a body of knowledge, may you take from this place as you scatter throughout the world a *way* to learn: a way in which weight can be hefted close to your center. The heavier the luggage, the more leverage one needs—longer handles, a baggage cart, and eventually even someone else just to move your possessions from terminal to train. The best backpacks, however, become a part of *you*: not a clumsy burden, but a well-balanced extension of your own back, your own core. In your calling toward the world, whatever it may be, the heart of it is not to give to others a careful of knowledge about God at arms' length, but the invitation to a heart's engagement with God, so that theology and life become intertwined.

Travel light. Heft the weight, rearrange it so it does not become a hindrance to the journey.

Finally, I would confer upon you not degrees, but knapsacks, to remind you in all ways that you are sojourners—not citizens. A "sojourner," formally defined, is "a person living in mutually responsible association with a community, or in a place, not inherently his own." If a sojourner is not a citizen, neither is she a tourist. There is a salutary tension of living outside the culture, as a prophet, but at the same time,

in that "mutually responsible" bond of partnership.

Jesus sent out the first ones to proclaim the Kingdom of God with the admonition to take next to nothing for the journey, because "a worker deserves his keep." Offer the world the opportunity to learn ministry in mutuality with you. The provision you have not carried along, you must trust others to provide. There can ultimately be no hierarchy among the company of sojourners, because they know that while one of them carries tomorrow's breakfast, another has shelter for tonight—while the pack of a third contains the medical kit to treat wounds. Sojourners call their community into mutuality, because they must live that way themselves.

I believe that this calling to life as a sojourner is the same for women and for men—but different. In our culture, the acceptance of the sojourner's garb will be more difficult for males, who have been society's established citizens always. For you, there must be a new, a deliberate self-identification as sojourner, again and again. Women, on the other hand, have been those without a country, without citizen status, in ancient culture and in our own time. The tension for us takes on a different character: our task is not to relinquish too easily our sojourning status in this day. There must have been a clarity about that self-understanding for Muriel Van Orden Jennings (the first woman graduate of Princeton Seminary) fifty years ago. Today, with so many female faces among the graduates, we must celebrate her courage, celebrate the progress of years, but continue to affirm our common history with her. So in the midst of the essential

struggle for equality of rights and possibilities, we must also choose to remain sojourners at heart. In scripture and in modern life, women are those who have listened from the fringe, around doorways like Sarah, and from the shadows beyond campfires; who have had to respond in secret; who have depended upon God when neither expected more than required—nor desired—to do so, at best a step in and a step out of the structures of power. My challenge to my sisters is this: hold on to the gift of our hardship, our history of marginality which has been such a seedbed of growth for us, for the Church, and for the world. Never give up the struggle for justice, but never give up the remembrance of who we are.

Sisters and brothers, you have compiled a great body of knowledge. Can you now let go of it, to commence the cycle of building and rebuilding, forming and reforming, packing and paring down and repacking again, ounce by precious ounce? Can you go out seekers and sojourners, without the facile security of a tidy theological package all locked up? If you cannot, this institu-

tion will have failed in its responsibility toward you. If you will not, you have yet to perceive your true vocation.

Only a few belongings for meat and bread: the everlasting grace of God, the life of prayer, the peaceable vision of that city to which you *do* belong.

The poet Annie Dillard speaks of a day when she went out on assignment from her small village church to a store next to a pasture, where she was going to buy the communion wine. It was a strangely significant moment, in a cold season; and so she went with her hands in her pockets and a knapsack slung over her parka's shoulders. She purchased the bottle, what seemed so worldly and other-worldly an act at the same time. And then, she said, "I'm out on the road again walking, my right hand forgetting my left. I'm out on the road again walking, and toting a backload of God."

May this hour of relinquishment send you out not with the baggage of a changeless system in your hands, but simply with that backload of God, as the poet said—"bright on the back of [your] ribs."

Behind Closed Doors

Farewell Remarks to the
Graduating Class, 1982
by the President of the Seminary

CRITICS are telling us that we are witnessing a seismic shift in human perception and experience as we move further into the 1980s. An old order is winding down; another is struggling to be born. Not only have the gulfs between East and West, and North and South widened, but a new dimension has emerged that transcends these divisions and is apocalyptic in magnitude. A part of it is the ecological crisis, the tardy recognition of the limits of this frail planet, and another part is the nuclear build-up that threatens the future of the human family and of creation itself.

In the midst of this crisis, confidence in technology is shaken, with many a paralysis of will has set in, and nostalgia with its quest for simple solutions has begun its reign. The romanticism of the left, which pervaded the two previous decades, has now been joined by the romanticism of the right in a refusal to face the future as a challenge to conversion, *metanoia*, a radical turning around in our values, commitments, and lifestyles.

In our attitude and behavior we resemble St. John's description of the disciples in the hours after the Resurrection, "behind closed doors." Our faith, too, is mixed, the odds seem overwhelming, and we are intimidated. It is at this point in the Gospel narrative that "Jesus came and stood among (the disciples)." The Risen Christ can do this. He can penetrate any barrier with his

presence and stand with His own. In the Soviet Union a group of Christians were worshipping in a room when they were interrupted by a loud knock at the door. Before it stood a member of the police, who entered and took the name of each person present. "There are sixteen of you," he reported as he was about to leave, but a man responded, "No there are seventeen present. The Lord Jesus Christ is with us in this room."

When Jesus appeared to His disciples behind closed doors, He greeted them with the traditional salutation, "Peace be with you." And then showing them His hands and side, He repeated it a second time. Westcott says that the first greeting represented the restoration of personal confidence, the second preparation for work. And then came the charge, as relevant for the members of the Class of 1982 as it was for the disciples in the first century. "As the Father has sent me, even so I send you." Before the Resurrection the disciples had been heralds, Calvin contends, but now they were ambassadors, clothed with Christ's own authority.

Today you are sent to continue Christ's mission in the world or, better, for Christ to continue His saving mission in the world through you. The Gospel you proclaim will be precisely the "good news" the disciples proclaimed. It is the glad tidings of the coming of the Kingdom of God. It is the answer to the hope of the nations. It is the one sure Word on whom the whole human family can ultimately depend. It is our only security in life and in death.

But you will remain behind closed doors, doubting, intimidated, and afraid, until you are empowered for your ministry from above. No one of us alone is

qualified for the task of ministry. Something else is needed as the text of St. John 20 makes clear. "And when Jesus had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'"

My prayer is that Jesus will breathe on each one of you today and give you the gift of the Spirit to empower your ministry. And may this same Spirit empower you throughout all the days of your years.

The Core of the Gospel and the Whole Gospel

by M. M. THOMAS

A self-educated theologian, ethicist and political analyst, M. M. Thomas is the former President of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. He was instrumental in forming what is now the Christian Conference of Asia and founded the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society in India. Presently Dr. Thomas is Visiting Professor of Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, and Director of the Juhanon Mar Thoma Society Center in India. He is the author of several books and is currently writing reflections on Biblical books in Malayalam, his native language.

Opening Convocation, Fall 1982

IN THE letter inviting me to give the Convocation address at the opening of the 171st academic year of the Seminary, President McCord asked me to choose a theme which would be "appropriate for students beginning their theological study." Later Dean West advised me not to forget the rest of the community who, too, would be present. A guest professor does not reject the first advice of the Dean, so I said I would keep it in the back of my mind. In any case it is difficult for someone new appearing on the scene from abroad to know what is appropriate to an occasion which has a tradition of 170 years behind it. So one falls back on what one may do on a similar occasion in India and hope for the best. I hope that my Indian English will not be too difficult for you to follow. It is not that I apologize for it. Indian English has as much justification as American English.

I have chosen for today's address a theme expressed best in the 2nd verse of the 12th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which reads (in Today's English Version) as follows:

Let us keep our eyes fixed on
Jesus,

On whom our faith depends
From beginning to end.

I have phrased the theme: The Core of the Gospel and the Whole Gospel. That wording has reference to a sentence in Karl Barth's Preface of 1921 to the second edition of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans: Barth was answering some of his critics of its first edition, who said that he was not presenting the whole gospel in his Commentary. He accepted that criticism; he acknowledged that he must move towards presenting the wholeness of the Christian faith. But he added that his first priority was to explore the central core of the gospel. For (and here I quote from the English translation by Edwyn Hoskyns):

I must confess that after all these years I am still concerned with the veritable rather than with the whole gospel. This is because, only by laying hold of the veritable gospel does it seem to me to be possible to reach out towards the whole gospel.

The point is clear. One cannot draw a circle without deciding on the center. So Barth defended concentrating his attention on Jesus Christ, his cross and

resurrection, as the self-disclosure of the grace of God, or in Barth's own words, as the revelation of the faithfulness of God. Jesus Christ is Himself the Gospel. Not merely as the product of human moral idealism or religious quest, nor as the end-result of cultural evolution or ideological movement—but primarily as the act of God transcending them all. *God* so loved. *God* was in Christ. And *therefore* decisive for human destiny. The life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ—the Christ Event—is a divine judgment on sinful humanity before it brings forgiveness and renewal to human persons, builds up a people to be His witness, transforms religions, cultures and ideologies, and leads human history to the End event, the coming of Christ in the glory of His kingdom. This gospel is *of* God and therefore *for* the world. Transcending the world and therefore judging it and transforming it. God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself.

Karl Barth was saying this not to students beginning their theological studies but to the whole community of theologians of his time, including the theological professors. It means that Christian theology in any generation and in any historical context has this double task of helping the Church—first to lay deeper hold of Jesus Christ as the central gospel of *God*, and then on that basis to reach out to an involvement with the *world*. For the wholeness of the gospel is nothing but the explication of the continuing work of the living Christ through the Holy Spirit—as the *Savior* of Persons, the *Head* of the Church, and *Lord* of the World. And lest the involvement of the Church with the world in the name of wholeness becomes conformity with the world, theology must recall the Church over

and over again to return to the transcendence of the gospel.

In fact this has been the function of Christian theology throughout the history of the Church. And every new generation of theological students is on the threshold of entering into the rich tradition of the ever-continuous reflection of the universal community of theologians on the truth of the *centrality* of Jesus Christ and on the meaning of the *universality* of Jesus Christ—the core gospel and the whole gospel.

Most of you who have joined the Seminary have come with faith-commitment to Jesus Christ as the gospel of God. Otherwise you would not have chosen the vocation of the Church ministry. There may be others who are seeking to understand Christianity to test its claim to be the faith to live by. Even there, there is some sort of commitment. For as the Psalmist says, only because of the Divine command in the heart, seek ye my face, can there be the response, Lord thy face will I seek. And all of you are entering a period of study of the Faith to which you are committed, because faith-commitment needs to be strengthened by rational understanding leading to intellectual conviction. Jesus himself has commanded that we should love God not only with all our hearts, but also with all our minds. And the Scripture asks us to “be ready at all times to answer anyone who asks us to explain our hope,” which presupposes understanding sufficiently to be able to communicate.

Therefore the goal of the Seminary is not protection of faith through isolation but maturity of faith through encounter with critical thought. The hope is, as has been expressed clearly in the tablet at the entrance of the Speer Library, that “the light of learning will illumine the life of piety in the service

of Jesus Christ the Truth." A mature faith thought through and held in all intellectual integrity as reasonable is the goal. That is why theological study gets involved in the cold objective scientific analysis and interpretation of the data of faith in Scripture and Church tradition, cross-questions the witnesses to Christ and examines critically all sacred doctrines. It may sometimes look threatening to some of our pet notions and may dissolve many of our earlier certainties into ambiguities and doubts. But there is no other way to help distinguish the central from the peripheral in our religion. The Word of God needs to be distinguished from human words, and Faith from doctrines so that we may move on to more adequate human words and doctrines to express the Word and the content of the Faith. Presuming that I am speaking to a community largely of American Presbyterians I may say that Christ needs to be distinguished from American ideology and from Presbyterianism, so that they may be kept continually under the critical examination of the light of Christ. The gospel of God alone is of ultimate concern. Other matters belong to the realm of the indifferent, of the relative. But very often these relative matters are absolutized and become idols, and get mixed up with the core of the gospel. Tearing them away from their idolatrous position will tear us also apart. Transforming our idols into creatures can never be done without tears. It is this that makes theological enquiry, not merely an intellectual but also a spiritual exercise.

However students may take comfort from the fact mature theologians in all parts of the world face the same predicament and the same struggle in the face of new situations and their challenges. In South India when the Con-

gregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Anglicans met to negotiate church unity their first task was to distinguish the central gospel and the essential elements of Church life from other elements in the life of various denominations, so that they might move in Christ towards a new united Church. It took them 25 years and many tears were shed. Indeed every advance towards Church unity anywhere requires this common movement towards the center, namely Jesus Christ. Or when Asian-African churches seek to root their faith in their own indigenous cultures, their first task is to delineate the core of the gospel from the traditional western confessional forms so that they may confess Christ anew in the thought-forms and life-forms of their cultures. It is because Christ transcends all forms of traditional Christian religion that Bonhoeffer could speak of communicating the gospel to the secularized moderns in a more secular fashion. Barth was right. Any new advance towards wholeness of the Church's life and witness today requires a new awareness of the central truth of our faith.

It must however be added almost immediately that the movement towards wholeness through an ever new encounter with the world in the name of Jesus Christ as Lord of the World is a must. As a Lausanne follow-up consultation of Evangelicals at Willowbank on "Gospel and Culture" self-critically stated:

The most insidious form of syncretism in the world today is the attempt to mix a privatized gospel of personal forgiveness with a worldly (and even demonic) attitude to wealth and power. . . .

What they urge is that Christ's victory over demons of the collective life is an

integral part of the whole gospel. Christian spirituality is essentially the spirituality of the eucharistic meal, of the fellowship of the Lord's Table. It is a spirituality of consecrating the material world and the personal and corporate humanity in the self-offering of Jesus Christ for service to God in the world. Recently the World Council of Churches published a booklet: *The Feast of Life* written by John Poulton. Voicing a group of theologians he is reflecting on the theme of the Vancouver Assembly of the WCC. This reflection emphasizes the fellowship of the eucharistic meal and its style of sharing in Christ as the most powerful symbol and reality not only for the koinonia and unity of the Church local and universal; but also for the Church's witness to the struggle for a just and participant society reflecting a secular koinonia in the modern world. Canon Raven used to say that koinonia has a threefold meaning of spiritual communion, social community, and material communism.

Looking back to the early Christian missions in India, clearly it was the spirituality of the Lord's Table which challenged the exclusivist spirit and rigidly hierarchical structure of the caste system. A letter written by a group of upper caste converts in South India to Macaulay, then on the Governor's Council, is available in the Indian archives. It complains against the missionaries. "Sir, these missionaries are putting pressure on us to eat the Lord's Supper with pariah (i.e. outcaste) converts. And they do so against the clear instruction of St. Paul who said that spiritually minded Christians should know nothing but Christ and Him crucified." This last bit of Scriptural reasoning has a contemporary ring about it! The point is that they were prepared

to receive Christ as Savior in their hearts but not prepared to enter into a meal fellowship with the outcaste Christians. In my own region in Kerala once when the missionaries brought the outcaste converts to the church building through the door, the upper caste Christian praying near the altar jumped out through the windows. Of course later they all accepted the Lord's Supper as a religious sacrament, but then the problem was to extend its influence in the social life of Christians. At one point, in Madura, when a church invited their upper caste and low caste evangelists together for tea, most of the upper caste evangelists left the church employment that day. It was alright to have a sacramental meal, but drinking tea in social fellowship was different. Nevertheless the eucharistic meal and its social extension were the first challenge to the spiritual sanctions behind caste in India in modern times. Along with secular forces it awakened Hinduism itself to the inhumanity of the caste system. Natarajan, a secular historian of one hundred years of social reform, has said that the fear of Christianity has been the beginning of social wisdom in Hinduism. And if later Gandhiji and the other national political leaders made casteless society the national goal, the witness of the Christian fellowship transcending caste, manifested in churches and Christian service institutions, had made no small contribution to it. By no means is India's struggle against the evils of caste in the Church or in society over. But even the secularists could see that when true to its theological self-understanding the eucharistic meal provided a spirituality of combat against exclusive communal idols and became the source of a new social humanism.

Turning to the modern West—The scientists and technicians who met at MIT in Boston three years ago to consider the future of humanity in a technological age spoke of the centrality of “the eucharistic meal” for their struggle for true community in a technological age. They said, “Here in the bread and wine—elements of the non-human creation which have been fashioned by human labor—God meets us as servant. The Parable of Sharing here becomes reality. . . . Thus in the eucharistic meal, human beings and things are set free to serve one another. At the same time the eucharistic view of the world shows that our Christian hope for human beings and the non-human creation is not unfounded. These are the foretastes of the coming of the Kingdom of freedom.”

Reading St. Luke’s Gospel one is struck by the number of meals and feasts Luke mentions. The Kingdom of God is symbolized by banquet; and the hope of the banquet of the Kingdom at the end seems to control the whole series of banquets and dinners in the gospel. Not only the Last Supper, but other meals as well. Jesus teaches divine forgiveness by going to dinner with sinners and publicans—Levi and Zacchaeus—and by interrupting a Pharisee’s feast to allow a sinful woman to come into that company. In his Parables he likens the Kingdom to a feast to which the poor and the riffraff from the streets are invited. And since this is the nature of the Kingdom, he says, when you give a feast do not invite members of your own tribe or class who can return it, but invite “the poor, the crippled, the lame and the blind.” Here not only the sacramental Lord’s Supper, but also the suppers to which the marginal people

of society are invited become truly foretastes of the Kingdom. From this angle Jesus condemns the feasting of Dives in indifference to Lazarus, because his feast is a denial of the *koinonia* of the gospel.

Isn’t it significant that St. Paul condemns the Corinthian Church for celebrating the Eucharist in a context in which the richer Christians are unwilling to wait for the poorer brethren to share their meal with them. Paul says:

When you meet together each one goes ahead with his own meal so that some are hungry and others get drunk. Therefore it is no more the Lord’s Supper you celebrate. Actually in shaming the poor you despise the Church of God.

Can we not see in all these a challenging relevance of the fellowship in Christ to the struggles of a genuine human community local and worldwide in our time. As both Vatican Council and the Uppsala Assembly of the WCC have said, the Church is the sign and sacrament of the communion of humanity with God and of the coming communion of mankind.

So now I conclude:

Lay hold of Jesus Christ

Crucified and Risen as the
veritable gospel of God.

And explore the truth and
meaning of the fellowship
in Christ for the Life of the
Church.

And reach out to the significance
of the *koinonia* of the Church
of Jesus Christ for the life of the
world in our time.

Thank you.

Ecclesiastes in Old Testament Theology

by JAMES F. ARMSTRONG

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Inaugural Address, April 23, 1980

WHEN President McCord first proposed that I contemplate this address, the only guidelines offered to me were twofold: (a) keep it under forty minutes; and (b) don't be any duller than is necessary to preserve the good reputation of theological thought. During Albert J. McCartney's period of service as a pastor in Washington, D.C., he on occasion would invite seminary professors to preach in his pulpit. Some, of course, were true gems, but many he regarded as "supernaturally dull." No people, he concluded, could be that uninteresting on their own; they had to have divine assistance. Since divine assistance, or the presumed absence of it, bears heavily on the theme with which I wish to deal, we shall move without further delay to the topic at hand.

I

The book of Ecclesiastes has long been regarded, even in its modestly edited and enlarged form, as something of an embarrassment to the Old Testament. Amidst literary neighbors that emphasize duty and sobriety, it appears to counsel willfulness and excess. "Eat, drink, and seek happiness." Among books that urge confidence in the face

of adversity, it is taken to concede defeat. "Vanity, vanity, all is vanity." In a canonical atmosphere of at least partial familiarity with the deity, its studied avoidance of the traditional covenant-name for God makes it appear cold and detached. There were arguments about its inclusion among the sacred books, and through the years better choices have been proposed.

Because for some persons Ecclesiastes may not be regular reading, it might be useful to offer just a few remarks about its design and purpose. Perhaps more than any other Old Testament writer, our author is a philosopher. Further, he is something of an empiricist. Neither an elucidator of traditional Yahwism nor the propounder of a recognizable variant of it, he instead is a critic of certain accepted tenets of that faith. His quest, as he states in forthright terms, is to examine "by the canons of knowledge" a broad and representative range of human experiences, with the goal of discovering whether they support claims for a way of life that is inherently to be preferred. The effort will be identified as in some ways similar to Plato's task in the *Republic*, although there are noteworthy

differences both in methodology and in suppositions regarding probative evidence.

Like Plato, Ecclesiastes pursues his intellectual enterprise through a famous character, in this case "the son of David, king in Jerusalem," for whom the most natural identification is Solomon. Although the name is not used, internal evidence suggests that the writer did indeed desire the figure of Solomon to come to mind. This literary device is not only appropriate for the wisdom genre; it also enables our author to interpret the exploits of the great patron of wisdom in a most favorable light. Just as Solomon had become the symbol of wisdom, so the excesses of his court had made him a symbol of degeneracy; and Ecclesiastes is able to portray the monarch's deeds not as self-indulgence but as part of a sweeping scientific plan. Even when well-plied with wine, the king's mind always led in wisdom, an aside that must have brought not a few knowing smiles to the faces of readers and hearers. The master plan, calling for indulgence in every conceivable kind of experience, was designed to yield such a mountain of evidence that no one could call the results biased or, in modern terms, based upon an insufficient or skewed sample. "What is left for persons who come after the king? They can do only what already has been done." In keeping with the manner of his tradition, Ecclesiastes effects his argument and critique by calling attention to data that appear to contradict theories of whose truth he is unpersuaded.

Inevitably, the contours of a philosophical argument will be molded in considerable measure by the way in which a given problem is conventionally defined and the general options for solution delineated. Ecclesiastes' treat-

ment of his subject is in this sense unexceptional. According to the discussions of his day, the various alternatives in the quest for a plausible philosophy of life could loosely be classified under the three headings of knowledge, duty or virtue, and happiness. No student of the history of ideas will be entirely satisfied with this simplification, since it obscures many important differences among positions, but we at least may begin with it in an effort to give focus to the sometimes scattered reflections of our author.

II

It is well known to persons even casually acquainted with the traditions of Greek philosophy that knowledge was sometimes urged as the basis for the good life. Although this was not the only principle advocated in those traditions, or even the predominate one, it was of sufficient importance to cause the Greeks to be characterized by some viewers as disciples of knowledge. "Jews demand signs, and Greeks seek wisdom . . ." (I Cor. 1:22). The underlying assumption is that there are rationally derivable truths about the ordering of personal and corporate life. These truths, when clearly perceived, are self-endorsing, and confer the realization that duty to self and duty to others are in the final analysis one and the same. This position has had a noble role to play in the subsequent history of philosophy, as no one here must be reminded. In its most thorough formulation, duty and virtue collapse into knowledge; the person who is truly wise will not behave in ways that bring self and society into conflict.

The Old Testament contains, albeit in muted tones, a substantial amount of evidence of the presence and influ-

ence of this perspective. The most affirmative statement occurs in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, where wisdom is declared to have been the very first of God's works of creation. While not necessarily, or even probably, the template that God followed in the remainder of his work, personified wisdom, by being present when all else was brought forth, witnessed the structuring of the world and thereby acquired access to its mysteries. Since wisdom is teachable, God has provided through the medium of instruction a path to the good life.

Happy are they that keep my
ways,
Hear instruction, and be wise.
.....
Whoever finds me, finds life,
And obtains favor from the Lord.
(Prov. 8:32ff)

Ecclesiastes devotes considerable attention to problems that attend this perspective. He is by no means uniformly negative in his assessment; wisdom in many ways is beneficial. Its power, he observes, is similar to the power of an inheritance—translating the text (Ecl. 7:11) aright—since both have the potential for protecting the owner. But from what? Not from death; the wise and the foolish have a common destiny. Not from extinction in memory; almost everyone, wise and fool alike, is forgotten in the inexorable passage of time. Not from calamity; sickness and loss of worldly possessions are not reserved to the untaught. Not even from the disappointment of the souring of family dreams; the wise are in no better position than others to determine what their children will do, whether they will be wise or foolish. How then does wis-

dom protect its owner? Principally by providing guidance for the relationships of life that already are more or less structured. Put slightly differently, the closer ethics and public policy approximate etiquette, the more valuable wisdom becomes in dealing with them.

Implicit in the critique propounded by Ecclesiastes is that knowledge as a reliable guide to the good life depends for much of its success on convention. So long as society is relatively stable and homogeneous—precisely what Plato realized to be necessary for the operation of his state—knowledge can be a powerful tool for promoting and achieving value. But allow the social order to become highly differentiated, with a multitude of individual wills and a minimum of cohesive constraint, and the regularities upon which knowledge depends are infinitely more difficult to grasp. To borrow the Malthusian formulation: in a pluralistic society, problems to be resolved increase geometrically, while the capacity to deal with them increases arithmetically or not at all. Even if the interest of the self and of other selves is one and the same—which is by no means certain in any but the most monolithic order—the ability to locate that binding interest appears to recede at the velocity of light.

Ecclesiastes concludes, therefore, that if we want from wisdom more than guidance covering standardized behavior, but also and especially guidance in areas that matter deeply—social and economic and political policy—we look there in vain. Rather than say that wisdom, in effect, traces the activities of God, we could venture that although God has put the quest for order within the human mind, he has concealed that order so that none may figure out what he is doing in a comprehensive sense.

God works, he suggests, to the end that people may fear him (Ecl. 3:15). I am not sure that he is in fact advocating this judgment, but rather stating that if the "way of wisdom" is to be followed to the conclusion pressed by the evidence of our senses, it should lead to the estimate of God that Professor Migliore two weeks ago characterized by the term "arbitrariness."

It is of interest to note that the exaltation of knowledge as the path to God and his truth received little support among those who influenced the canonization of the Old Testament. Although on the one hand appearing to praise wisdom and its powers, they on the other hand rendered it inaccessible in the customary sense.

From whence therefore does
wisdom come,
And where is the place of
understanding,
Since it is hidden from the eyes of
all living?
.....

God understands the way thereof,
And he knows the place where it
abides.
.....

Behold, the fear of the Lord, that
is wisdom,
And to depart from evil is
understanding.

(Job 28:20ff)

Thus, by absorption, wisdom was effectively removed to a safer place in the intellectual life of Israel. Wisdom became piety, and since piety was seen as the practice of the law, wisdom was none other than duty and virtue. This effectively reversed the assimilation of virtue into knowledge, a development to which we have already referred. Even

Ecclesiastes was not spared the impact of the reviser's pen, for at the end of the book this piece of counsel is appended:

The conclusion of the matter, all
having been heard:
fear God and keep his
commandments.

(Ecl. 12:13)

III

If for symbolic purposes we associate the primacy of knowledge with the Attic peninsula, with Israel we may associate the centrality of duty or virtue. We see this emphasis, of course, in the literary prophets, for whom adherence to the traditional values of a rural society was a matter of ultimate priority. The most systematic expression of this theme, however, is found in the grand historical panorama that sweeps from Genesis through Second Kings. Produced by redactors of considerable skill, these books with power and conviction portray Israel as the recipient of God's call to be a peculiar people, bound to him alone, destined to live under a constitution in which its obligations were made explicit, and the heirs of an abiding promise. The weal and woe of the nation is interpreted, within the limits of credulity, in relation to its faithfulness or faithlessness to that God-given identity and responsibility. The motifs of sin and punishment, obedience and success, judgment and restoration, are articulated as operative principles for the nation's historical existence and, derivatively, for the lives of people within it.

This interpretation of Israel's life was an extraordinary feat and witness of faith, remarkable among other reasons because it managed to stand a portion

of the nation's history on its head. Although researchers differ upon many and perhaps most points of detail, it seems clear that Israel under a single religious charter, acting as a single people, was the end of a process rather than the beginning; that the vision of a united nation in Davidic times went against some of the strongest traditions of the constituent peoples; and that one community came into being, insofar as there was one community at all, only after the major sources of diversity had been whittled away by historical circumstance. The panorama was not assembled, of course, principally to preserve a chronicle of the life of Israel through the centuries, although the editors' respect for their sources permits no little access to portions of that process. Rather, its design was to provide a usable history for a remnant community that deeply believed in Israel's selection from of old as a peculiar people, holy to the Lord.

What is important at this point is not the details of the sacred history, but rather the principles upon which that history was asserted to operate. In the typology we have been employing, the good life was to be found along the lines of virtue, here understood as obedience to a comprehensive set of divine commandments covering and integrating the personal and the public, the secular and the religious spheres. The results of virtue were recognizable in terms of worldly well-being. No one, of course, expected the correlation to be perfect—accident and chance were no strangers to their outlook—but good enough to lend continuing plausibility to the theory. Conversely, obvious and sustained disregard of the canons of virtue must of necessity lead to ill fortune and pain, both as a sign of divine indignation and, often, as a stimulus to repentance.

Through the presentation of contradicting observations, Ecclesiastes declares his dissatisfaction with the notion that virtue is coherently related to the good and prosperous life. Although not customarily regarded as an advocate of the poor—in one place he ventures that they might actually be better off than the rich, at least to the extent that when they go to bed at night they do not experience restless worry about the market—he reiterates the obvious maldistribution of justice in the social order. The righteous are not preeminently endowed with wealth; poverty does not fall principally upon the wicked. And even if attention is turned to matters more removed from human control, God does not seem with any unusual regularity to reward good and upstanding people with health and long life, nor is the life of evil folk normally cut off before its time.

Attempts to salvage the theory also receive some comment. Perhaps God is patient, allowing the upright to suffer for a moment in order to allow time for the wicked to repent. But justice delayed is often justice denied, and is it not equally convincing simply to say that God encourages evil? Or perhaps mistreatment in this life betokens a just judgment in the world to come. This, of course, cannot be disproved. Still, Ecclesiastes remarks, an entirely plausible inference from the evidence is that people are treated like animals precisely because that is the way God regards them. "I said to myself concerning humankind, that God is testing them to let it be seen that they are simply animals too" (Ecl. 3:18).

Ecclesiastes was not alone in his assessment of the "way of virtue." The book of Job, although offering a somewhat different line of concluding advice, advances a very similar critique.

Caught in a net of tragedy for which he can give no account, Job's distress is heightened as remedies for his situation are pressed upon him, remedies that require him to speak falsehoods in the name of justice, to confess to sins uncommitted. The only answer provided by the dialogues appears in the theophany, where Job is brought to realize that creation and its ways are too vast to be comprehended by mortal mind, and that the proper attitude in the face of adversity or success is humility and acceptance. The framework account, into which the dialogues are set, makes an effort to save the day, rewarding Job in the end for his integrity throughout the trial. This literary maneuver is commonly recognized, however, to have met with only limited success, since Job himself remains perpetually in the dark concerning the real reason for his changes of fortune. For both Job and Ecclesiastes, the "way of virtue" cannot be correlated with worldly success. Indeed, the theory suffers the ultimate indignity when it must be used to prove itself: because God punishes sin, ill fortune must be caused by sin.

Ecclesiastes' conclusion is that the world is morally neutral, except of course for the ultimacy of death which terminates all human value. Some things are more or less within our control, but the great bulk of what is genuinely influential and determinative lies beyond the reach of the searching mind and beyond manipulation by moral behavior. As though in summary judgment against both knowledge and virtue, he states:

Do not be fastidiously righteous,
and do not be overly exercised
at gaining wisdom; why should
you wear yourself out?
But do not be blatantly evil either,

and do not be a fool; why
should you die before your
time?

Instead, he counsels the third way, the way of pleasure. There is nothing better for humankind than that they should eat and drink and seek happiness—to live the ordinary daily routine—for the few years they are alive and well upon the earth. Not, to be sure, that pleasure should be sought voraciously, such as to create enemies on every side. Rather, opportunities for the good life should be seized when they appear—accepted as "gifts of God" for the moment—and not postponed for an unknown future. We can understand, in the light of the law and the prophets, how Ecclesiastes presented an embarrassment to the scholars of old, and why they sought to edit the book where possible in an effort to limit its critical impact.

IV

As we undertake an assessment of the place of Ecclesiastes in Old Testament theology, two attendant comments are in order. In the first place, I have given to the observations of our author a thematic organization that not all students would necessarily find appropriate. Although in my judgment this treatment does give fair expression to the thought of Ecclesiastes, it obviously is possible to view a meandering treatise in more than one way. Second, even if I have done reasonable justice to the positions endorsed by the book, there probably are few philosophers today who would accept either the evidence it presents or the method it employs as dispositive of the issue of God's relationship to the world. Nevertheless, without in any sense seeking to present Ecclesiastes as a folk hero for dissidents, I should like to interpret his contri-

bution in a light somewhat more favorable than it ordinarily enjoys.

At the risk of abandoning reason for poetry, we may characterize the book, and perhaps Job with it, as one of those angels with a turning, flaming sword positioned to mark a point of radical disjunction in biblical perspective. The first such angel, as we read in Genesis, was placed at the entrance to the garden of Eden, from which humankind had been expelled. In the garden there had been wonderful possibilities for life with other people and with the rest of creation, but something is peculiar about the account. Although presented in human images, it is not based upon human experience. Instead, it is a projection backward, faith's announcement that creation must have been uniformly good, even though we do not know it that way now, because the Creator is good. But we live outside the garden, and the girded angel cautions us to preserve a proper sense of the separation. The garden episodes may of course be used, yet only with more than ordinary care, since they describe conditions of which the race has no memory, conditions that are discontinuous with humanity's corporate and individual experience.

Within the Old Testament canon, Ecclesiastes also stands as a guardian. He does not bar our return to a time that never was, but rather our persisting in a time that is no more. Together with Job, he cautions that the historical dimensions of the canon contain a vast storehouse of lore which also must be appropriated with delicacy. Much of this lore has been organized according to a perspective that once was viable and helpful. The notion of a coherent relationship between virtuous behavior and historical fortune was suited, as we

have indicated, to a tightly organized society where obligations were known from youth and where deviation was quickly and firmly opposed. If everyone had a socially assigned task, there was an authentic note to the dictum that idleness should be equated with sloth.

Forces well known to all of us brought about a transformation in Israelite society. The relationships spawned by an emerging city culture were different from those characteristic of the countryside, and traditional canons of virtue no longer led to the intended results. In spite of what the prophets may have thought, we may assume that most of the commercial folk who "consumed widows' houses" were not trying to be exploiters of the downtrodden; they too were caught in a web of circumstances whose outcome they could only partially ascertain or control. They and their contemporaries practiced the accepted virtues, probably as much as any people ever do, while time was rendering ancient good uncouth. Furthermore, if time was undermining the efficacy of the traditional virtues, it was not suggesting new ones in their place. The complexities of the new social order did not readily lend themselves to that kind of reduction.

Accordingly, when Israel's scholars decided to organize—or, rather more accurately, persevered in organizing—the nation's religious heritage along the lines that it now displays, they made a perhaps inevitable but nonetheless unfortunate move. To borrow the words of Professor Gehman, addressed to quite another matter, as a helpful pedagogical device, the sacred history may have been antiquated well before it was written, and its use as the basis for the post-exilic community was similarly prob-

lematic. Lest this be regarded as a baldly sacrilegious assessment, we should bear in mind that time has swept away not a few of that history's central claims. There is little enthusiasm today for the position that God has a maintainable covenant with the Davidic line, or for the abiding importance of the temple service in any recognizable form, or for Zion's integral place in the divine plan, or for the conception of a separated people as God's chosen medium for glorifying himself in the world, or for the system of rewards and punishments as a helpful principle of historical interpretation.

More probably by accident than by design, Ecclesiastes stands as a guardian against an uncritical use of the sacred history. Society does not now operate either on the principles or toward the proximate goals of that history in its canonical formulation. If a divine word is to be spoken through the account, great care must be taken as the materials are approached. This is not to say that societies whose organization is close to that of early Israel cannot derive special value from the story as presented, but rather that even under the best of circumstances the productive use of such a comprehensive historical scheme is beset with enormous difficulties. Ecclesiastes' inner-canonical testimony to this fact may outweigh much of the other counsel that he has to offer.

V

This analysis leads me to two methodological addenda, both having to do with the exegetical process. In the first place, as all here are well aware, recent years have witnessed considerable interest in what may be called "canonical interpretation," which attaches special importance to the final form of a book,

or collection of books, in establishing the biblical message. I have no difficulty with a theory that says the final form of a piece of literature should be examined with care to discover the meaning of the author or editor. This is not necessarily a productive enterprise, and may lead to some amount of canonical embroidery, since it is by no means certain that all editorial work had meaning as a structural criterion. Nevertheless, there remains good reason to begin with the hypothesis of rational ordering, since order is not likely to be found unless it is sought.

It seems to me that we are on less reliable ground, however, if interest in the final form of a book, or collection of books, carries with it an evolutionary assumption. All stages of tradition, including the last, are important in themselves, but the end of the line is not inherently to be preferred over some earlier stage. Indeed, as we have seen in the sacred history, final forms may carve into stone partial or distorted understandings of religious experience. Since most of the books of the Old Testament reveal substantial editing, there is at least some probability that large amounts of testimony to people's awareness of God have been brought into the service of views that they were not in the first instance designed to endorse. In view of this situation, I believe that a more than modest emphasis on the canonical shape of a book, as a necessary step in eliciting the biblical message, takes us on precisely the wrong course. I should prefer instead to give primary attention to the examination of the underlying sources themselves. Although this approach will not take us to the moment of prophetic inspiration or to the precise content of the divine word, it should enrich our

awareness of the variety of ways in which the will and purposes of God were perceived. From such an enriched awareness there may come to the fore potent symbols, previously submerged in the canonical ordering, to assist in the interpretation of life today.

Professor Childs, whose recently-published introduction to the Old Testament lays great importance on the canonical shape of the several books, is well aware that even the most vigorous implementation of his approach leaves some of the text begging for interpretation. A case in point would be the "servant songs" of Second Isaiah, which seem to be applied to Israel but which really do not have any clear point of reference there. He states:

[I]n regard to this portion of the message of Second Isaiah the canonical process preserved the material in a form, the significance of which was not fully understood. The diversity within the witness could not be resolved in terms of Israel's past experience, rather the past would have to receive its meaning from the future.

This allusion to the future brings me to the second methodological matter. The Old Testament, we affirm, if it is to be used aright within the church, must be read in dialogue with Christ. This proposition could be expressed in other ways, some of which sound rather more imperialistic than perhaps is intended.

What is not being affirmed is the desirability of searching the Old Testament for foreshadowings of Christ. Such an approach may have been appropriate for an age that was awaiting the messiah's coming, and that regarded its sacred books as a veiled source of clues to the great event. Neither of

these represents the stance of Christendom today, and the results of efforts of this kind place a strain upon credulity. And neither do we affirm that Christ in some way completes the Old Testament, making it less than an appropriate vehicle of faith for the people among whom it arose.

When we proclaim the centrality of Christ for the church's understanding and use of the Old Testament, we confess it is through him that our eyes and ears are opened to receive the word through that portion of the Scripture. And, since Christ does not relate himself to everyone in the same way, or in an unchanging way to any particular person, different portions of the Old Testament move into sharper focus as God's word to us at different times. To assert otherwise, that Christ is related to all people in a singular manner—for instance, as the medium of salvation for the individual soul—is to perpetrate a great mischief, for it is just such an understanding that permits his being relegated to a narrow segment of life, the others remaining free for our own devices.

This methodological consideration is not easily made programmatic, except in the sense that the church is called continually to reexamine and clarify its christology as an essential aspect of Old Testament awareness. On the other hand, as Karl Barth discovered, theological sensitivity will not of itself cause the Scripture to yield up its treasures. The Bible must be kept under constant critical scrutiny—the supply of oil maintained, as it were—since we do not know from whence the light will next appear.

VI

Let me close with a partially formed illustration of an interaction between

christological amplification and Old Testament sensitivity. For a very long time there has been felt a kind of uneasiness in encountering texts that describe God as bargaining and making "deals" with human folk. These parts of the stories best should be set aside. Suppose, however, we modestly rephrase the way in which we depict the style—but not the substance—of God's coming to us in Christ. Shifting from a framework where the master-servant relationship was paramount, where God's style was appropriately one of condescension, let us take a setting in which focus falls on parity. Although God is still God, the style of his voluntary dealing with humanity may sometimes more helpfully be described by the term "compromise."

What does the notion of compromise do when applied to the Old Testament? At first blush, it is distressing. We are used to reading about integrity, turning not to the right or to the left, single-minded devotion, full dedication and obedience. So the figure of Daniel does not come to the fore under the new paradigm; he was a child of absolutes. Moses, however, stays in the spotlight. God had a job for him, and he didn't want to do it; so they compromised. Moses thought he needed, at the very least, an interpreter. He may not have needed Aaron at all, but he felt he did, and God made the concession to get the operation under way. Or take Abraham. He was unhappy with the plan for a summary disposition of Sodom, and said as much. So God compromised, and scaled down his de-

mands, even though in the end it made no difference. And then there is Hannah. She bargained with the Lord for a son, offering to give him back to God as a Nazirite. Probably she could have had the son without the bargain, but God went along with the arrangement, leaving Hannah with the feeling that she had made her contribution, too. It is possible, we discover, that simply by altering a framework of perception a theological mutant may arise, itself allowing texts to speak in fresh ways.

Although the illustration is simplistic, its potential import is otherwise. Partly as a result of the gospel's own insistence on human dignity and solidarity, we are lodged in a world where people and nations, at varying levels of affluence and physical power, wish to deal with each other as equals. If the work of God for and among us stands as in any way paradigmatic, then images of equal dealing—even where there may be few overt signs of equality—loom important. This is particularly essential when we are positioned on the near side of the second angel, unable to assume or even imagine a world where well-intentioned people will see problems, solutions, or mediating values in the same way. But our controlling images are still oriented toward condescension: loving, more than accepting love; giving, more than graciously receiving; serving, more than being served. As Christ appears to us in altered ways, the Bible itself is wreathed in fresh light, and becomes, in the manner of Deuteronomy, God's word not to our forebears but to us.

The Parabolic Event in Religious Autobiography

by DONALD E. CAPPS

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Inaugural Address, April 14, 1982

OVER the past decade or so, a number of theologians have been calling for a return to the "parabolic tradition"—the parabolic language of Scripture and its extensions in poetry, novels, biography, and autobiography. This theological impulse has gone by various names. The terms *intermediary theology*, *narrative theology*, *parabolic theology*, and *theology of story* are the most common.¹ The major authors in this tradition are John Dunne, the Roman Catholic theologian whose books, *A Search for God in Time and Memory* and *Time and Myth*, have been very influential in the development of this theological perspective; Sallie McFague, author of *Speaking in Parables*; and James Wm. McClendon, Jr., author of *Theology as Biography*.² Stephen Crites' article, "The Narrative Quality of Experience," has also been extremely influential,³ as have been the writings of various biblical

scholars, such as John Dominic Crossan.⁴ George Stroup's book, *The Promise of Narrative Theology*, a recent publication, is proof that this theological impulse is still a vital one.⁵ Closer to home, Sang Lee offers a course here at Princeton Theological Seminary which bears directly on this theological perspective, a course entitled "The Story and the System in Theology."

I will not attempt, today, to provide an overview of this theological perspective. If I were to do so, I would not have time to present my own ideas, and this would be inconsistent with the purpose of an "inaugural lecture." Instead, I will focus on one major feature of this theological approach, its view that *autobiography* is an important resource for parabolic theology. Sallie McFague says that autobiography stands in the "parabolic tradition" because, like the parables of Jesus, autobiography is a narrative form which is profoundly metaphorical. Lonnie Kliever summarizes her view in this way:

Successful autobiography is inescapably parabolic because autobiography is metaphoric story through and through. The story of the self can only be told indirectly and incarna-

¹ Lonnie D. Kliever has a good discussion of this movement in contemporary theology in his book *The Shattered Spectrum: A Survey of Contemporary Theology* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981).

² John S. Dunne, *A Search for God in Time and Memory* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969) and *Time and Myth* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1973). Sallie McFague, *Speaking in Parables* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). James Wm. McClendon, Jr., *Theology as Biography* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974).

³ Stephen Crites, "The Narrative Quality of Experience," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 39 (1971), pp. 291-311.

⁴ John Dominic Crossan, *The Dark Interval: Towards a Theology of Story* (Niles, Illinois: Argus Communications, 1975).

⁵ George Stroup, *The Promise of Narrative Theology* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981).

tionally since the mystery of the self only comes to appearance . . . through concrete speech and action. When we write autobiographically, we move from the known to the unknown, through the details of our lives to the mystery of our selves. Each speech remembered and incident reported is a metaphoric unfolding of the "master form" of the teller's life—a form that is not only communicated through but constituted by the story told.⁶

To McFague, autobiographies, like parables, are concerned with mystery. In parables, the mystery is God's presence in our world. In autobiography, the mystery is the self in the process of becoming. Parables address the question: "Where, in the world, is God?" Autobiography addresses the question: "What is becoming of me?" Both genres recognize, however, that these two mysteries are inseparable. God's presence in the world bears directly on what is to become of me, and what is becoming of me is directly related to God's presence in the world. Furthermore, both genres share a common view of what *mystery* implies. As John Dunne points out, these are not mysteries because they are unintelligible, but because they have inexhaustible meaning.⁷ Parables and autobiographies are metaphorical, precisely because metaphor is the language of discovery. It sheds light on the unknown without presuming to exhaust its meaning.

How autobiography goes about illuminating the unknown is similar to how the parable works. In parables, *familiar events* are vehicles for shedding light on the mystery of God's presence in the

world. The *familiar* discloses the unfamiliar. As Kliever points out, the parables do not introduce us to some arcane or occult "religious" world. Rather, they shock us into seeing our familiar world in a new way and at a new depth—as a familiar world in which an unfamiliar presence is at work.⁸ Moreover, the fact that parables are *eventful* shows us that God's presence in the world is an *active* presence. As Paul Ricoeur points out, in parables "the kingdom of God is not compared to the man who . . . to the woman who . . . to the yeast which . . . but to *what happens* in the story."⁹

Autobiography makes similar use of familiar events to shed light on the mystery of the self. *Familiar*, because the self is not some transcendent being existing in splendid isolation from the raw experience of life. *Events*, because the self is not a static entity, but a dynamic process of becoming. As McFague says, the self in autobiography is "incarnated in concrete events. . . . And this, of course, is but another way of saying that the events are parabolic or metaphorical—they have extensions beyond themselves, they are richly complex images embodying the secret of a person's life, as, for instance, the moment in the garden is a metaphor of Augustine's life."¹⁰ Not every event in an autobiography is a parabolic event. By citing the example of Augustine's experience in the garden, McFague makes a qualitative distinction between events which embody the secret of a life and those which essentially serve

⁸ Kliever, p. 178.

⁹ Paul Ricoeur, "Listening to the Parables of Jesus," in *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, ed. Charles E. Reagan and David Stewart (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978), pp. 239-45.

¹⁰ McFague, pp. 154-55.

⁶ Kliever, p. 180.

⁷ Dunne, *A Search for God*, p. 7.

the requirements of a coherent narrative. In fact, parabolic events typically disrupt the normal narrative flow and, like parables, break through the surface realism of the story. As Elizabeth Bruss points out, in autobiography there is a certain

leaning toward discontinuous structures . . . , with disrupted narrative sequences and competing foci of attention. The "story" the autobiography tells us is never seamless, and often it is not a story at all but a string of meditations and vignettes—*fractional events* that may be painful or joyous in their partial disinterment, irrepressible or simply casual in their transient spontaneity.¹¹

Like parables, parabolic events resist our normal expectation of a coherent, carefully paced and well-organized narrative structure. They are one major reason why autobiography differs so much from biography. Unlike biography, where the demand for a coherent narrative is never consciously abrogated, there are numerous occasions in autobiography where the demand for narrative coherence takes a back seat to the impulse toward self-disclosure. The parabolic event is oftentimes the catalyst for this suspension of normal narrative expectations.

In my judgment, we need to give more attention to the role of parabolic events in autobiography. McFague does not discuss them much in her brief comments on the autobiographical writings of Paul, Augustine, John Woolman, de Chardin, and Sam Keen. This is partly because she does not dis-

cuss any of these figures in detail. But it is also because she emphasizes the integrity of the narrative, and thus minimizes the fact that these parabolic events disrupt the narrative pattern and, in doing so, permit us to see the self from a new, unexpected, even startling angle.

In the time allotted, I cannot say everything that should be said about the role of parabolic events in autobiography. The most I can do today is to *illustrate* the role of parabolic events in autobiography. The autobiography which I have chosen for this purpose is Augustine's *Confessions*, generally considered the first major autobiography (even though the term "autobiography" is less than two hundred years old, and the first book called an "autobiography" by its author did not appear until 1834).¹² In discussing the *Confessions*, I will be concerned with the question: How do parabolic events shed light on the self and its mystery? I intend to show that Augustine's use of parabolic events is important in two respects. First, concerning the *Confessions* as such, I would contend that these events help to focus Augustine's reflections on the critical question: *What is becoming of me?* (Like most autobiographers, Augustine was middle-aged when he wrote the *Confessions*. While memoirs, usually written in old age, address the question, "What *has* become of me?" autobiography, usually written in mid-career, asks the question: "What *is becoming* of me?"). Second, concerning the genre of autobiography as a whole, Augustine's use of

¹² James Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment: A Thematic, Historical, and Bibliographical Introduction," in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 3-27.

¹¹ Elizabeth W. Bruss, *Autobiographical Acts* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1976), p. 164. My underlining.

parabolic events in his *Confessions* establishes a precedent, that no autobiography may avoid the issue of self-disclosure.

Augustine's Confessions: Three Parabolic Events

In my reading of the *Confessions*, there are some five events which are unusually self-disclosive. These are the pear-stealing episode, the death of Augustine's unnamed friend, his escape from his mother through an act of deception, the famous garden experience, and the mystical vision which he and his mother shared shortly before her death. Because Augustine's formulation of the mother-son relationship in the autobiography is quite complex, psychologically, symbolically and theologically, I will limit my comments today to those parabolic events in which his mother was not a major participant. This leaves three events: the pear-stealing episode, the death of Augustine's friend, and the experience in the garden.

To set the stage for this discussion of Augustine's parabolic events, I wish to draw attention to David Burrell's article entitled, "Reading the *Confessions* of Augustine: An Exercise in Theological Understanding."¹³ Burrell critiques some earlier studies of the *Confessions* published in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* under the guest editorship of Paul Pruyser.¹⁴ These studies, written by some of the major figures in pastoral theology and related disciplines, are criticized by Burrell for two reasons. In the first place, the au-

thors of these articles are too ready to force their own *psychological theories* on the text; in so doing, they impose an "explanatory" hermeneutic on a text that wants to exhibit a hermeneutic of understanding. In the second place, they fail to take seriously the *form* of the text. They center on selected features of the text, especially those that support existing psychological theories, and fail to note how these features of the text are integral to Augustine's theological intentions.

But, on one point, Burrell agrees with these studies. He agrees with the judgment, advanced by a number of these authors, that Augustine engages in too much self-reproach. As Burrell puts it: "Nothing seems more obvious to a modern reader of the *Confessions* than the author's inveterate tendency to reproach himself from infancy on." Burrell agrees. He continues: "One feels that the grace of God which Augustine celebrates so generously should in ten years have worked a greater self-acceptance than the continued tone of self-accusation betrayed in the *Confessions*." Why was Augustine, even at the time he wrote the *Confessions*, unable to accept himself? Why this continued self-condemnation? Burrell believes that Pruyser has the best explanation. In Pruyser's view, Augustine continued to reproach himself because he was unable, in any genuine sense, to accuse himself of wrongdoing. "Indeed," says Pruyser, "very little guilt feeling is expressed directly." Burrell concludes that behind Augustine's self-reproach is an inability to acknowledge his sinfulness and to present himself available for forgiveness. His self-reproach reflects "a lingering unwillingness to surrender" himself to God.

There is probably much truth in

¹³ Published in *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 50 (1970), pp. 327-51.

¹⁴ These articles appeared in vol. 5 (1965-66). Authors included Paul Pruyser, James Dittes, David Bakan, Walter Houston Clark, Philip Woolcott, Jr., and others.

Burrell's and Pruyser's views here. But a careful look at the major parabolic events in the *Confessions* suggests a different angle on Augustine's self-reproach. The clue to this alternative understanding is Erik Erikson's observation that "Shame is an emotion insufficiently studied, because in our civilization it is so early and easily absorbed by guilt."¹⁵ We moderns view Augustine's self-reproach solely in terms of the dynamics of guilt and the need, therefore, for divine forgiveness. It is more accurate, both theologically and psychologically, to view this self-reproach according to the dynamics of shame. By focusing on the three parabolic events in the *Confessions*, I hope to make a case for this alternative interpretation of Augustine's self-reproach, and draw from this some conclusions regarding Augustine's answer to the question: "What is becoming of me?" and its correlate: "Where, in the world, is God?"

Take his account of the pear-stealing episode.¹⁶ In this event, the sixteen-year-old Augustine and some friends shook a "great load" of pears from a tree which did not belong to them and then, instead of eating the pears, they threw them to the pigs. They stole simply because it was forbidden, not from desire for the fruit. Augustine's account of the actual theft is brief, but his interpretation of the event is quite lengthy. He severely reproaches himself for what he now considers an utterly senseless act. There is so much self-reproach, in fact, that various authors of the studies mentioned earlier say that he grossly ex-

aggerates the seriousness of his crime: All this self-reproach over the theft of pears. However, to Augustine, this pear-stealing escapade reflects his whole attitude toward God's created order prior to his conversion to Christianity. He implies that his attitude toward the fruit he stole was similar to his attitude toward the young women with whom he consorted. He took what was not his, and did so not for love of the object of his quest, but purely for the pleasure of taking what was forbidden. This whole attitude now fills him with shame. He confesses: "Base in soul was I, and I leaped down from your firm clasp even towards complete destruction, and I sought nothing from the shameful deed but shame itself." He senses that he is utterly exposed, naked before God. He would like to, as he says, "cloak over" his ignorance and his folly with the names of simplicity and innocence. But he knows it will not work, for God "enlightens my heart and uncovers its darkness." To be sure, he also uses language of guilt and sin in his account of the pear-stealing. But when he concerns himself with what this episode reveals him to be in the eyes of God, he turns to the language of shame: God uncovers the darkness of his heart and there is nothing to cloak over his exposure to God's scrutiny.

When we recognize that shame is the central dynamic in this event, we begin to understand why Augustine engages in such extreme self-reproach. As Helen Merrill Lynd points out in her analysis of the nature of shame:

Shame is an experience that affects and is affected by the whole self. This whole-self involvement is one of its distinguishing characteristics and one that makes it a clue to identity. Separate, discrete acts or incidents, in-

¹⁵ Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 252.

¹⁶ *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans. John K. Ryan (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960), pp. 69-76.

cluding those seemingly most trivial, have importance because in this moment of *self-consciousness*, the self stands revealed. Coming suddenly upon us, experiences of shame throw a flooding light on what and who we are. . . .¹⁷

Why does Augustine reproach himself so severely over the theft of some pears? Because the shame he experienced was total, involving the total self. In contrast, guilt is not such a total assault on one's self. An act of wrongdoing, even one of very serious proportions, need not undermine our sense of who we are, for we can explain this action as unrepresentative, or uncharacteristic of us. Guilt can be externalized. Shame is totally self-involving. As Lynd points out: "Experiences of shame appear to embody the root meaning of the word—to uncover, to expose, to wound. They are experiences of exposure, exposure of peculiarly sensitive, intimate, vulnerable aspects of the self."¹⁸

A second parabolic event in the *Confessions* is Augustine's account of the death of a friend.¹⁹ Augustine had just begun his teaching career in his native town. He was about nineteen or twenty years old. The friend, whom he had known from childhood, contracted a fever and lay for a long time in an unconscious state. He was baptized a Christian when it appeared certain he would die. But he rallied temporarily and, during the time that he was in his senses, Augustine tried to joke with him about the Christian baptism his friend had recently received. These jokes were not appreciated by his friend. Augus-

tine says that "he was horrified at me as if I were an enemy, and he warned me with a swift and admirable freedom that if I wished to remain his friend, I must stop saying such things to him. I was struck dumb and was disturbed, but I concealed all my feelings until he would grow well again and would be fit in health and strength." But his friend did not get well. After a few days, he had a relapse and died.

Much of Augustine's reflections on this episode center on his grief and sorrow over the death of his friend. He says that his native town and his father's house became a "torment" to him in the absence of his friend. But he also reproaches himself for making fun of his friend's baptism. His jokes about the baptism come back to haunt him, and he is profoundly ashamed of his behavior. Now, he says to God, "I do not blush to confess your mercies to me and to call upon you, I who once did not blush to profess before men all my blasphemies and to bark like a dog against you."

Except for this reference to blushing, Augustine does not use the language of shame to convey his deep sense of self-reproach for the way he treated his dying friend. Yet, this too is a situation in which shame, not guilt, is the dominant emotion. As Lynd points out, one major source of shame is the sense that one's words or actions have been incongruous or inappropriate, and this is precisely how Augustine now views his attempt to joke about his friend's baptism when his friend was dying. According to Lynd:

It is peculiarly characteristic of these situations of suddenly experienced incongruity or discrepancy that evoke shame, that they are often occasioned by what seems a "ridiculously" slight

¹⁷ Helen Merrell Lynd, *On Shame and the Search for Identity* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958), p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁹ *The Confessions*, pp. 97-102.

incident. An ostensibly trivial incident has precipitated intense emotion. . . . It is the very triviality of the cause—an awkward gesture, . . . an untimely joke, . . . a witticism that falls flat—that helps to give shame its unbearable character.²⁰

Undoubtedly, Augustine felt humiliated when his friend rebuffed his joking manner. He must have been even more devastated when his friend died: "How could I have made jokes with a friend who was dying?" (This is not what we teach in pastoral theology!) But the greatest humiliation of all would come years later when he viewed this event from his perspective as a Christian bishop accountable to God: "How could I, a future bishop, have joked about my friend's Christian baptism?" The greatest shame is the shame he experiences, now, as he opens his shameful past to God's scrutiny.

Like the shame of exposure in the pear-stealing incident, this shame of incongruity involves the total self. As Lynd points out:

To assume that any feeling of deep shame over a seemingly trivial incident is neurotic is to miss the point that it is characteristic of shame, as experienced by normal, healthy persons, that a seemingly insignificant occurrence can set off a whole train of associations that have profound significance for the whole self.²¹

According to Lynd, shame resulting from such incongruous behavior often manifests itself in a shift from feeling at home in a situation to feeling very alienated. One wants to bolt for the door or sink through the floor. Or one

hopes against hope that one is not actually here, doing these things, that one is dreaming. Augustine's feeling of alienation from his native town and his father's house was undoubtedly due primarily to loneliness following his friend's death. But there may have been an element of shame as well, the desire to withdraw from the place where he had made himself look foolish. As Lynd points out, shame has a tendency to isolate us from others. Augustine notes that he was absent from the room when his friend died. He also mentions that he left town shortly thereafter. We would not be surprised, therefore, if he also felt himself wanting to escape from his autobiographical project, a project which was forcing him to reawaken his shameful past and lay it bare before God.

This brings us to the garden experience, the parabolic event which has become a paradigm for Christian conversion.²² This and the pear-stealing episode are symbolically related. Both occur in the garden, and both therefore call to mind the Garden of Eden story, with its rich imagery of shame and defilement.²³ In his account of this experience, Augustine reproaches himself for shameful deeds which leave him exposed before God. His garden experience is much too complex to discuss here in full detail. But I would draw attention to one facet of the story which is normally overlooked, and which bears directly on our theme. Leading up to his account of the actual garden experience

²² *The Confessions*, pp. 181-203.

²³ Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. Emerson Buchanan (New York: Harper & Row, 1967). In light of our concern with Augustine's *Confessions*, it is noteworthy, that Ricoeur's study of defilement begins with a "phenomenology of 'confession.'"

²⁰ Lynd, p. 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

rience, Augustine relates the story of Ponticianus, a Christian and a high court official who had come to visit Augustine shortly before Augustine's conversion. During his visit, Ponticianus related the following story: He and three other men had gone for a walk in the Emperor's gardens. Two of the men wandered off by themselves. They came upon a house where some Christians lived, and found there a little book about the life of Saint Anthony. As one of the men began to read the book, he was filled with "sober shame." He turned to his companion and said: "Tell me, I ask you, where will we get by all these labors of ours? What are we seeking for? To what purpose do we serve in office? What higher ambition can we have at court than to become friends of the emperor?" Ponticianus tells how the man continued to read on and "was changed within himself, where your eye could see. His mind was stripped of this world. . . ."

Augustine was deeply moved by this story. In the very next section of the *Confessions*, which one translator entitles "The Naked Self," he says that he was "overwhelmed with shame and horror while Ponticianus spoke of such things." Then, in the next section, entitled "In the Garden," he begins his account of his experience in the garden with this agitated query to his friend Alypius: "Are we ashamed to follow, because they have gone on ahead of us? Is it no shame to us not even to follow them?" He found himself resisting, however, because "My lovers of old . . . held me back. They plucked at my fleshly garment, and they whispered, 'Do you cast us off?' . . . What filth did they suggest! What deeds of shame." He sensed that their voices were not as strong as before. Instead of contradict-

ing him face to face, they were reduced to muttering behind his back and furtively picking at him as he moved from them. Yet, he could not wrest himself free of them. He confesses: "I felt great shame, for I still heard the murmurings of those trifles, and still I delayed and hung there in suspense."

While I would not wish to make too much of this reference to murmurings behind his back, it is noteworthy that Erik Erikson suggests that doubt is companion to shame. But whereas shame is dependent on the consciousness of being upright and exposed, doubt has much to do with a sense of having a front and a back side. If shame manifests itself in a "loss of face," then doubt reflects a fear of being attacked "from behind." In doubt, one fears the hidden persecutors threatening from the rear.²⁴

In any event, Augustine subsequently heard a voice, as of a child, chanting, "Take up and read." The book he seized upon was not the life of Anthony but a volume of Paul's letters. He opened the book and his eyes fell on these verses from Romans, chapter 13: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities, not in strife and envying; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires." But put on the Lord Jesus Christ—that is, leave your fleshly garment, clothe yourself in Christ, and you will no longer be naked, exposed before God. By putting on Christ he could stand before God without shame. Unlike Adam, in that other famous garden, he did not need to hide from God, because he was clothed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Instantly, on reading these words, a "peaceful light" streamed into

²⁴ *Childhood and Society*, pp. 253-54.

his heart, and all the "dark shadows of doubt fled away." Shame gave way to peace, and the dark shadows of doubt were dispersed.

In the first of his philosophical chapters in the *Confessions*, the chapter devoted to "a philosophy of memory," Augustine seems to comment on the spiritual change that his garden experience effected in him. He says to God:

Lord, before whose eyes the abyss of man's conscience lies naked, what thing within me could be hidden from you, even if I would not confess it to you? I would be hiding you from myself, not myself from you. But now, since my groans bear witness that I am a thing displeasing to myself, you shine forth, and you are pleasing to me, and you are loved and longed for, so that I may feel shame for myself, and renounce myself, and choose you.²⁵

In other words, he understands that to hide himself from God, out of a sense of shame and exposure, is to *hide God from himself*. Following John Dominic Crossan's view that parable is the binary opposite of myth, I suggest that what Augustine has done here is to reverse the implied meaning of the garden of Eden story. In so doing, he has given us a different slant on the relationship of the self to God. While Adam sought to hide his shame from God, Augustine dares to reveal his shame through his *Confessions* because he knows that, through such self-disclosure, God will appear to him. The problem with concealing one's shame is not that one thereby hides from God, but that one hides God from oneself. By forcing himself to confront his shame, August-

tine opens himself to the presence of God.

Autobiography as Self-Disclosure

This brings us to the larger question of how the theme of shame has significance for Augustine's whole autobiographical project. By writing his *Confessions*, Augustine renounced the most common way of dealing with one's shameful past and instead chose a less traveled way. The common form of dealing with shame is amnesia—forgetting that these experiences ever happened. Amnesia is to shame what rationalization is to guilt. But Augustine chose the more uncommon and riskier path of *story*: He called these experiences to mind and through the narrative of his life in the *Confessions*, he made them public. In calling these experiences to mind and giving them form through story, he came face to face with his naked self. But this self-examination, however painful, was absolutely necessary. Why? Because to reexperience his shame through memory and story was to open himself to the presence of God.

What, then, is Augustine's answer to the critical autobiographical question: What is becoming of me? The answer is something like this: I am becoming a person who opens himself to God. Through his *Confessions*, Augustine gives self-disclosure a central importance in the Christian life. This is the context in which his self-reproach needs to be understood. It is not that his self-reproach reflects a lingering unwillingness to surrender himself to God. Rather, this self-reproach is an expression of his determination to open himself, totally, to God. By according self-disclosure a prominent role in the Christian life, and

²⁵ *The Confessions*, p. 229.

by accomplishing this through autobiographical narrative, Augustine left a permanent mark on autobiography. Through the *Confessions*, he has made it virtually impossible for autobiographers to avoid self-disclosure, and has insured that individual autobiographies will be evaluated for their self-disclosive power. We expect autobiographers, following Augustine, to "reveal" themselves, to disclose hidden aspects of the self, by which we normally mean those aspects which are peculiarly sensitive, intimate, and vulnerable.

But why do we expect this? Is it merely a matter of curiosity, of voyeuristic pleasure? For some readers, perhaps, it is. For such readers, there will probably always be autobiographers who are shameless enough to cater to such desires. But Lynd offers a much more profound explanation for why we take interest in the self-disclosure of others, an explanation that ties directly into our analysis of Augustine's three parabolic events. She writes: "The import of shame for others may reach even deeper than shame for ourselves." We may, for example, feel deep shame for our parents because they have not been able to cope with a changing world, or because their lives, according to our standards, have not have amounted to much. Or we may feel profound shame for a teacher who is past his or her prime, a brother who is dishonest in business, a sister who is alcoholic, a son or daughter who cannot get a handle on life, a spouse who is our social inferior. In feeling shame for another person, we confront the whole meaning of life. As Lynd puts it: "Feeling with others in situations of exposure . . . forces us to face the questions of whether there is meaning and where truth and mean-

ing lie."²⁶ Thus, when we expect autobiographers to disclose hidden aspects of themselves, this may reflect our own desire, perhaps unarticulated but nonetheless real, to face the question of the meaning of life.

Consider, in this connection, the following parabolic event from Elie Wiesel's autobiography entitled *Night*.²⁷ This episode occurs near the end of his account of his experience of imprisonment at Buchenwald during World War II. Wiesel was fifteen years old at the time; his father was near death from exhaustion and starvation. He writes:

When I came back from the bread distribution, I found my father weeping like a child: "Son, they keep hitting me!"

"Who?" I thought he was delirious.

"Him, the Frenchman . . . and the Pole . . . they were hitting me."

Another wound to the heart, another hate, another reason for living lost.

"Eliezer . . . Eliezer . . . tell them not to hit me. . . . I haven't done anything. . . . Why do they keep hitting me?"

I began to abuse his neighbors. They laughed at me. I promised them bread, soup. They laughed. Then they got angry; they could not stand my father any longer, they said, because he was now unable to drag himself outside to relieve himself.

The following day he complained that they had taken his ration of bread.

"While you were asleep?"

"No, I wasn't asleep. They jumped

²⁶ Lynd, p. 57.

²⁷ Elie Wiesel, *Night*, trans. Stella Rodway (New York: Avon Books, 1969), pp. 121-24.

on top of me. They snatched my bread ... and they hit me ... again."

This situation continued for a week. Then his father died one night while Eliezer slept. When he discovered in the morning that his father's place had been taken by another invalid, he found he could not weep: "It pained me that I could not weep. But I had no more tears. And, in the depths of my being, in the recesses of my weakened conscience, could I have searched it, I might have perhaps found something like—free at last!"

Undoubtedly, Eliezer felt shame for his father as the older man suffered insult and abuse, and became physically incontinent. And, as he suggests, his father's humiliation was a wound to the heart, another reason for living lost. But we, as readers of this account, also feel shame for Eliezer when the only response his father's death evokes in him is a burden lifted: "Free at last!" Surely, we do not feel moral indignation toward Eliezer. It could hardly be a matter of guilt. But we feel his shame, share his shame, because we know the feeling. Moreover, we know how this feeling in our own lives has unraveled our carefully constructed myths of life's meaning and purpose. In mythic events, as in the Garden of Eden story, humans experience shame, they hide, and God asks: "Where, in the world, have they gone?" In parabolic events, humans experience shame, or observe the shame of others, and they ask: "Where, in the world, is God?" When we encounter a parabolic event in an autobiography, our own myths of life's meaning and purpose are inevitably threatened, and we are forced to grope for new ways of perceiving the presence of God in our own world.

Conclusion

To conclude this very preliminary exploration into the role of parabolic events in autobiography, I would like, *very briefly*, to point to four ways in which this approach to the study of autobiography might be carried further.

One issue concerns the grounds for designating an episode in an autobiography as a "parabolic event." Is this a purely arbitrary designation? Or do certain rules govern our choice? In most cases, we have an intuitive sense of which events in an autobiography are parabolic. Like the parable, they compel us into the narrative and will not let go of us. However, to help us determine *how* a particular event functions parabolically, it is often useful to analyze the event in terms of the major components of a parable. Without pretending to expertise in these matters, I would suggest that the parables of Jesus have the following structural elements:

1. The parable depicts an event in which there is conflict, generally of an interpersonal nature.
2. This conflict results in an altered relationship between the principals in the story. The relationship between the participants at the beginning of the story has become a very different relationship by the end of the story.
3. The meaning of the event is communicated through the story itself. One does not look outside the parable for the "point" of the story. Rather, the story *is* the point.
4. The parable is open-ended. It does not end with a neat and tidy resolution of the conflict situation. As Crossan points out, for parable, "Reconciliation is not more fundamental a principle than irreconciliation. You have built a

lovely home, myth assures us; but, whispers parable, you are right above an earthquake fault."²⁸

5. The parable emphasizes the importance of perceiving what is not readily apparent. Through parables, our customary ways of perceiving our situation are challenged and upset because they misperceive how God is acting in our world.²⁹

If time permitted, it would be possible to show how the three events in Augustine's *Confessions* discussed here reflect these structural components of the parable. I would only note that autobiography affords the opportunity to perceive what one did *not* perceive about an event when it first occurred. Thus, in a paradoxical way, autobiography is precisely about what one did *not* experience in the past, for perception is experience. Autobiography is not mere reminiscence. It is a restructuring of one's perceptions of what one has been in order to gain a clearer picture of what one is becoming.

A second issue that deserves attention are possible similarities between types of parables and types of parabolic events in autobiography. Crossan suggests that Jesus' parables fall into three major types: advent, reversal, and action.³⁰ He further suggests that the parables reflect Jesus' own religious experience. Thus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the religious experiences of autobiographers—their sense

of God's presence in the world—might be embodied in similar types of parabolic events: advent, reversal, action. And perhaps some parabolic events, like some parables, reflect all three modalities. This would be true of Augustine's garden experience. It is also true of Paul's account of his Damascus experience.

A third issue is the question of the relationship between the Bible and autobiography. While I have focused today on the parabolic tradition in the Bible, autobiography has been influenced by other biblical forms. John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* reflects Paul's prison letters; John Henry Newman's *Apologia* has strong patriarchal overtones; Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* is reminiscent of wisdom literature, especially Proverbs; Dorothy Day's *The Long Loneliness* reflects the influence of Psalms; and most recent autobiographies by black Americans are in the prophetic mode. More attention needs to be given to the influence of biblical forms on religious autobiography, in regard to both form and content. In fact, I would argue that this biblical influence is one important reason why autobiography has taken so many different forms, and is therefore such a difficult genre to characterize.

A fourth and final issue is the hermeneutical role of psychology in the study of autobiography. In my discussion of Augustine, I drew rather heavily on two developmental theorists, Lynd and Erikson, for their views on the dynamics of shame. To explore the various ways psychological theories might be used as interpretive tools in the study of autobiography would require another lecture. I will spare you and myself that. However, I would note that I myself was introduced to the phe-

²⁸ *The Dark Interval*, p. 57.

²⁹ I have applied this model of the parable to pastoral care and counseling. See my *Pastoral Counseling and Preaching* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980), pp. 125-30, and *Biblical Approaches to Pastoral Counseling* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), ch. 4.

³⁰ John Dominic Crossan, *In Parables* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

nomenon of *parabolic events* not through parabolic theology but through Erik Erikson's *Young Man Luther*. What has received little attention in the critical assessment of Erikson's psychoanalytic study of Luther is the fact that he based his narrative on three parabolic events in Luther's life: the fit in the choir, the first mass, and the revelation in the tower.³¹ If these three events seem dy-

namically similar to the three events in Augustine's *Confessions* which have been the subject of discussion today, this should not surprise us. For, the more one reads in autobiography, the more one is inclined to believe Carl Rogers' oft-quoted aphorism: "What is most personal is most general." Yes, autobiography enables an author to struggle with the question: What is becoming of me? But, in the final analysis, we read autobiography because we want to know: What is becoming of us all?

³¹ Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958).

Memorial Tributes
to Faculty

Emile Cailliet

1895-1981

EMILE CAILLIET, Stuart Professor of Christian Philosophy Emeritus, died on June 4, 1981, at the age of 86. He had served on this faculty for twelve years after previous teaching responsibilities at the University of Pennsylvania, as Professor Director of the Humanities Program at Scripps College in Claremont, California, and at Wesleyan University. He retired in 1959 and made his home with Mrs. Cailliet in the Cold Spring section of Cape May, New Jersey. In recent years he lived with his daughter, Helene Cailliet Adcock, in Southern California.

Born and educated in France, Ph.D. Montpellier in 1926, Th.D. University of Strasbourg in 1936, Dr. Cailliet volunteered for army service and had front line experience as a lad of 20. Wounded, he was hospitalized. It was in an American hospital that he married a Scotch-Irish lady whom he had met in Germany on a Christmas Eve before the war broke out. She gave him his first Bible; he had never even seen a Bible until he was twenty-three. His education had been naturalistic to the core.

In Princeton, Dr. Cailliet's courses were focused in a quest to understand the modern religious mind. He recognized in the breakdown of classical physics a climate for rethinking humanity's relation to God and the world. He was consciously and continuously preparing his students for the objections toward their Christian thoughts which would be raised in that world "outside." Always he regarded that world as a mission field. Because of Dr. Cailliet's studies in cultural anthropology, particularly in Madagascar where he was honored by the Governor General, he was continuously sensitive to contexts of conversion.

In his lectures, Dr. Cailliet would refer to scholars in scientific fields of endeavor, introducing authors in the physical sciences to students, many of whom had not so much as heard their names. However, this was a time at Princeton Seminary when a considerable number of young people who were called to ministry had been trained in the physical sciences. They came to campus apprehensive that they were totally unequipped to think in a liberal arts environment. Dr. Cailliet nurtured them, honoring the significance of their previous studies and careers. Through his conversations with them in class and study he brought them to Pascal and Pascal to them. Tea-time invitations to that study introduced many students to the gracious solicitude and sustaining friendship of Mrs. Cailliet, a remarkable lady. She often visited married students in their off-campus apartments.

Dr. Cailliet's gifts to the world of scholarship and to the church are reflected in many publications. His books issued by major publishing houses (Harper, Westminster, Zondervan, Macmillan, Bobbs-Merrill) show in their very titles the quest of mind and heart. The Otis Lectures at Davidson in 1946-47 were published in a volume *The Beginning of Wisdom*. He had previously written *The Life of the Mind* and *Pascal, Genius in the Life of Scripture*. There followed *The Dawn of Personality*, *The Recovery of Purpose*, and then in his retirement a volume published in 1968, *Journey into Light*. Prior to that he had written an appreciative

evaluation of a ministry to young people in this continent and it was published by Harper and Row under the title *Young Life*. It was no surprise to those who knew Dr. Cailliet that he would applaud a type of witness that reached outside the parish churches to use the home and the high school campus and athletic field and ice cream shop as the area of primary contact. His final book, published by Zondervan in 1971, bore the arresting title *Alone at High Noon—Reflections on the Solitary Life*. Many of us knew how deeply he missed the companionship of his departed wife.

One of the highest joys of Dr. Cailliet's life was his election as a Ruling Elder of the United Presbyterian Church. We remember the twinkle in his eye when he would utter certain convictions about the church and her task and follow these words with the words, "Of course, I am not ordained." He was ordained in the Cold Spring Presbyterian Church and took his duties as Elder with week-by-week faithfulness. Particularly, he sensed the privilege in serving the elements at the time of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He had written: "It is at the Lord's Table where the luminosity of the Presence comes into full glow."

Dr. Cailliet's funeral service was held in that church whose present pastor, the Reverend Fred Bischoff, was one of his students at Princeton. Mr. Bischoff was not the pastor when Dr. Cailliet was a parishioner, but in his tribute reflected the kindness of Dr. Cailliet to him in Princeton when death entered the Bischoff family.

Dr. Cailliet is buried in the cemetery next to that church in Cape May. His son, Andre, of Salinas, gave a personal tribute at the grave. Others of the family present were daughters Helene Adcock of Los Angeles, Doris Brunzie of Hanover Park, Illinois, and Suzanne Gardner of Farmington Hills, Michigan.

Henry Snyder Gehman

1888-1981

IT is particularly fitting that there should be inscribed upon the Minutes of this Faculty a testimony of gratitude for the life and service of Henry Snyder Gehman, a preeminent figure among that group of modern pioneers who contributed so extensively to the rebirth of this institution.

Born on a farm near Ephrata, Pennsylvania, Dr. Gehman had his religious roots in the Bergstrasse Lutheran Church, a congregation whose two hundred and twenty-five year history he was to publish in the ninetieth year of his own life. Origins in a different communion were a blessing, for although he joined the Presbyterian Church upon appointment to the Seminary faculty, he remained substantially free from the factional attachments that sapped the vitality of both denomination and school during the preceding decades. The scars and lingering feelings of the old battles could not be ignored, but Dr. Gehman was able to view those unpleasant days in the 1930's as the conclusion of an extended theological parenthesis whose spirit should not be permitted to shape the institution's future. There was, of course, no doubt about where he stood on questions of biblical scholarship, and in his refreshing manner he could describe a newly-published version of uncritical conclusions as having been "antiquated before it was written." In all, however, his style was not to harass his would-be-adversaries, but to lay before them the considered results of modern research, trusting that in many instances, and in the Lord's good time, such evidence would erode judgments that were insubstantial and unworthy. As the student mood changed, and became less patient with the Seminary's parenthetical past, Dr. Gehman was quick to caution against allowing that past to triumph in defeat by determining the agenda for yet another generation. "Do not preach against the fundamentalists," he would remark. "They won't be there to hear you."

His educational pilgrimage provided Dr. Gehman with a remarkable preparation for teaching in the Old Testament field. Educated at Franklin and Marshall College and the University of Pennsylvania, he prepared himself for research in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. His doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages Among the Ancients* (1914), assembled and analyzed the materials on this intriguing topic in a bare sixty-five pages, and thus might serve as a corrective if not a paradigm for fledgling scholars today. After a period in the pastorate, that included the founding of the Tabor Reformed Church in Philadelphia, he devoted himself once again to formal scholarship, pursuing graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, the Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning, and the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church. From the last-named institution he received a second doctorate, in Old Testament and Semitics, in 1927. Quite naturally, he believed, these strands of his education were ordained to find focus in the Greek text of the Old Testament, and this topic perhaps more than any other claimed his scholarly attention through the ensuing decades. The result was a host of articles on Septuagint studies, a chain of doctoral graduates who explored and

continue to explore the subject, and an ambitious lexicon of the Septuagint upon which he worked until age ninety-two.

Although he was deeply committed to the principle of a publishing faculty, Dr. Gehman's greatest investment was in the men and women he taught. As his son, Nevin, has observed, "I don't believe he ever put his own gain ahead of the need or interest of one of his students." Those who studied at his feet, whether in a single course or intensively in graduate work, will respond, "Amen." His study light invited visitors far into the night, and more than one doctoral candidate will remember with gratitude the scholarly resources that Dr. Gehman made available to him from his own magnificent library.

One aspect of his contribution to student growth bears particular mention. Dr. Gehman's extraordinary facility with languages, modern and ancient, gave him access to virtually every piece of Old Testament scholarship coming to light during his years at the Seminary. The B.D. students became rather special heirs of his linguistic genius, for he was able to open for them in his lectures an avenue to the intellectual harvest of Old Testament research in Europe, which did not begin to see systematic translation until near the close of his formal teaching career.

His also was a substantial contribution to the church. He did, of course, preach extensively, rejoicing especially in the privilege of bringing the Word of God to congregations where English was not the language of preference. Beyond this, however, was his editorship of the *Westminster Study Bible*, designed as part of an ambitious educational program of the Presbyterian Church, and preeminently his revision of the *Davis Dictionary of the Bible*, appearing in two editions as the *Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*. The impact of these volumes, in church and personal libraries across the nation, is difficult fully to measure.

The stories about Dr. Gehman are legion, and perhaps the bulk of them had as a common theme his belief in the union of piety and learning. He was appalled by the small amount of independent reading that students in his early classes were expected to do, and was assured that he would be "a very unpopular man" were he to require library assignments as a part of his courses. He nonetheless decided to live or die by his decision to mandate the undergirding and transformation of faith with knowledge, and to inculcate habits of reflection that would serve men and women well as they moved from seminary to ministry.

Recognizing that continual research is the bedrock of education, Dr. Gehman was among the early advocates of a Doctor of Theology program at the Seminary. The first graduate was one of his advisees, and in the years that followed he guided a host of dissertations both here and at the University. He believed in a scholarly interchange between Seminary and University, and throughout his tenure maintained a lectureship in the latter institution. Although his zeal for the Seminary doctoral program was strong, he also recognized the value of a fresh atmosphere, and many of his graduate students who had received their B.D. from the Seminary were encouraged to go across the street for the doctorate. As though anticipating a decision taken here many years later, he on more than one occasion was known to have offered the counsel, "You won't have to explain your Ph.D."

One remembers many things about the Gehman style: insistence upon 8:00 classes, where in mid-winter students were greeted by windows wide open and a touch of frost in the air; faculty meetings at which he presided, where the work would be completed in twenty minutes if no one ventured "to throw a wrench into the operation"; passages from Barth that none of the language examinees could translate; but fundamentally a Christian scholar who believed in work, expected work, and willingly helped others to bear the yoke of study when he detected the seeds of a commitment to an educated ministry.

Elmer George Homrighausen

1900-1982

ELMER GEORGE HOMRIGHAUSEN was born in the year that bridged two centuries, 1900. How symbolic! He was always a bridge linking people to people, and people to faith, and ideas to God's purpose, and churches to each other, and students to their future tasks, and many of us to a tremendous love, and to Christ Himself. He was born in Wheatland, Iowa. Knowing him we could believe it had it been named "Heartland." He received his B.A. degree from Lakeland College in Wisconsin. Recognizing the territory that this evangelist, preacher, teacher, author, ecumenical ambassador, retreat leader—and father of six and grandfather of 13—covered we would not have been surprised if the name of the college had been predictably "Oceanland"—How he traversed both!

In a tribute in a recent issue of *Theology Today* Dr. Hugh Thomson Kerr notes that E. G. Homrighausen was known seldom by his first name, and all around the world was called "Homy." It is a lively sign of his warmth and the self-giving reach of his friendship. To call him "Homy" was to link ourselves with a greatness of many dimensions; as we said that name we were pronouncing a synonym for "Friend."

These moments permit little time to describe his extra-campus ministries after graduation from Princeton Seminary in 1924. The University of Dubuque awarded him the Th.M. degree in 1928 and the Th.D. in 1931. Honorary degrees came from Mission House and Bucknell and Ursinus and Union Theological Seminary in Tokyo. Ordained by the Reformed Church in the United States, the Rev. E. G. Homrighausen was pastor of the First English Reformed Church in Freeport, Illinois, from 1924 to 1929 and of Carrollton Avenue Church in Indianapolis for the next nine years before he came back to Princeton in 1937.

When Elmer Homrighausen came to Princeton upon the invitation of President Mackay in 1937, he was the Thomas W. Synott Professor of Christian Education-Elect. The following year the designation was the same: "Elect." The Presbyterian General Assembly did not endorse this potentially "unorthodox" professor the first time round. Thanks be to God that Dr. Mackay urged him to stay at Princeton.

The instructional faculty at Princeton to which "Homy" came was small. There were but six full-time Senior Professors: Dr. William Park Armstrong, Dr. Frederick W. Loetscher, Dr. Andrew W. Blackwood, Dr. John E. Kuizenga, Dr. Donald MacKenzie, and Dr. Henry S. Gehman. Dr. Mackay taught one required course and an elective; Dr. Donald Wheeler was the Director of Speech, and Dr. Piper was a Guest Professor. Edward H. Roberts was Dean of Students and Associate Professor Elect of Homiletics. Charles Fritsch was Instructor in Old Testament, Dr. Kenneth Gapp was Librarian, George W. Loos was Assistant Treasurer and Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings, and Edna Hatfield served as Assistant to the Dean of Students. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell came on Tuesday afternoons to teach the course in "Cure of Souls" and Dr. John Finley Williamson was guest lecturer in Church Music. Dr. Andrew W. Black-

wood was on leave of absence, and during the month of February prior to "Homy's" arrival Dr. Casper Wistar Hodge had died.

What did E. G. Homrighausen teach that first year? The Synott Professor Elect of Christian Education taught the class in Homiletics: "The Art of Preaching," and on two afternoons each week he met with preaching sections. He also taught in his own department and that initial descriptive designation of "Introduction to Christian Education" carried the thrust of his purpose for decades: "from the point of view of the evangelical faith and ministry." His other first year course was entitled "The Church as Educational Center," and he also convened a practicum for considering pastoral problems arising in Christian Education.

To mention a few of the graduates who were in his first year classes is to remember the thousands of Princeton Seminarians who came under the sway of his mind and his passion and his love. Here are a few:

Hugh Ash—whose daughter has been admitted to next year's entering class at Princeton Seminary

John Bellingham

Ed Brubaker

Jay Bush

Charles Ehrhardt

Bob Carley

Cliff Chaffee

Bruce Evans

Hugh Evans

Norman Kindt

Jack Meister and

M. Richard Shaull.

In his second year of teaching "Homy" added a new course, "The Content of Christian Education," noting the focus on the Bible, historical Christianity, Christian biography, art, crucial issues of faith.

The following year came two new courses: "Church and Youth" and "Teaching the Bible."

In 1940-41 Dr. Homrighausen became a professor also in the Biblical Department, teaching the prescribed first year 3-hour course "Introduction to English Bible."

In the Christian Education field he introduced at least one new course each year for the next five years including "Parish Evangelism" and a course taught jointly with then Vice-President, Henry Seymour Brown, entitled "The Work of the Pastor." In 1945 he taught also in the Department of History and some of us who had never heard of Oecolampadius even learned to spell his name and better—we met him personally prancing across the platform of Room 1 Stuart Hall. The confrontations of that period of history became dramatic through the Professor who gave ancient names "Personna," dimension, and value. Those were the years when chaplains from military service were returning for post-graduate study. It was more regular than unique for many of these men to join other students in the march across the corridor of Stuart to Room 3 where, in

the following hour, "Homy" taught his Practical Department Course, "Theology and Christian Education." They were not signed up for that course but swept along by the power and dramatic intensity of the Professor they did not want to leave his presence. And they were not disappointed. "Homy" felt a special urgency to bring a theological critique toward the writings of the then luminaries in the field of religious education. And he took them on by name, with reformation passion kindled in the previous hour. Yet never once was he caustic or spiteful. As President McCord noted in his tribute at the Memorial Service, it was not in "Homy's" spirit to be mean or bitter or hostilely clever.

It is interesting to note that the only department in which Dr. Homrighausen never taught was the Department of Theology, yet to every class he came as a theologian, clarifying and inspiring.

In 1953 Dr. Homrighausen became Chairman of the Department of Practical Theology, continuing in this task until 1960 when succeeded by Dr. Beeners. It was in 1954 that he was appointed Charles R. Erdman Professor of Pastoral Theology. He had already included in his teaching orbit such courses as "Theory and Practice of Counseling." On the death of Dr. Edward Howell Roberts in 1955 Dr. Homrighausen became Dean of Princeton Seminary.

From then on the number of courses "Homy" taught had to be reduced, but we could have guessed those he chose to continue: "Teaching the Bible," "The Pastoral Work of the Church," "Christian Evangelism," "The Church and the Family."

From 1965 to 1966 "Homy" was on leave, and he visited each continent extending Princeton's association with hundreds of international students. He met many of those former students for whom he was official advisor. Our President asked him not only to keep the ties around the world warm and helpful but to suggest ways that Church leaders and Princeton may keep in mutually helpful touch. No ambassador could have been more appropriate. He chaired the Admissions Committee and had "a sixth sense" in reading between the lines of such varied applications and endorsing references as came from overseas.

When he returned to the campus he kept in touch with international students and graduates around the world until his passing. Each September—through 1981—choice moments came at Springdale when he moved from person to person of the International Students Association linking them by his memories with their friends and mentors back home.

When "Homy" became Emeritus in 1970 his teaching at Princeton assumed a new orbit of friends and fans. Year after year in the Center of Continuing Education he responded to Dr. Cooper's invitation to lead seminars. The most recent was last Autumn and the title so representative: "Evangelistic Preaching in 1981—Crisis, Correction, Conduct."

We began by noting that "Homy" was an amazing bridge. Through sermons of Karl Barth translated into English he prepared and encouraged the study of that revolutionary theology and the strange new world opening in Switzerland. Through commentaries in the "Church and the World" section of *Theology Today* he reached thousands of men and women for decades. Through sermons which thrilled congregations and challenged them—and were remembered point

for point for years—"Homy" brought the Sunday morning hour across the barrier of twelve o'clock—he never could quit then—but also across the high walls that seem to separate that Lord's Day from every other day that also belongs to God.

Will we ever forget his prayers in Miller Chapel? He whispered to God in reverent awe and holy mystery. He tiptoed in as if to ask God if this was a convenient time to attend to some friends he was bringing with him. Assured the answer was "Yes," Dr. Homrighausen's voice soared in range and volume, confident in the eternal assurances which he was celebrating for us all, and joyous as if they were new discoveries for that day.

"Homy" was sometimes called "The Choreographer of the American Pulpit"—in him that definition of preaching as truth through personality was epitomized. In his books, for example *Let the Church Be the Church*, we catch, even in the absence of his physical power, the same thrust of grateful excitement.

"Homy" was a bridge in this community, too. This clergyman and professor became also a member for many years of the Princeton Board of Education. After retirement he was the vital center of much conversation and table vitality at the Nassau Club and the Rotary Club. For years and years his reflections and "course corrections" at table for the Princeton Symposium were often heralded by either the beloved voice saying "What's new," "What's up," or the warning "Wait a minute—Don't forget—."

With all the wisdom wrapped in kindness and bestowed through spontaneity, we recognized to our profit that "Homy's" freedom was never casual or clever. This man who visited church sessions for his Presbytery, who was Vice-Moderator of the General Assembly, Chairman of the Commission on Evangelism for the Federal and the National Council of Churches transmitted in worship and elsewhere the dignity and propriety and consequent power of a great tradition. He was never sloppy or bizarre. He was not frozen into that dignity by a rigidity of personality or a lack of imagination. He chose it as his answer to the majesty of God.

In the year that Dr. Homrighausen retired as Professor on this faculty the Senior Class invited him to be the speaker at their class banquet. It was a May evening and students and their spouses gathered for a delightful time in the second floor dining room at Peddler's Village. Our office handled the tickets and a senior came in at the last minute saying, "I guess I'll go, but it will probably be dull and I'm sure not going to bring my wife." I watched him as "Homy" spoke—deep, moving, autobiographical: all he owed to his family, his pastors, his colleagues, his students, those he never met but who taught him by their books or by their deposits of influence in the church. He named them. He celebrated his marriage—all that the beloved Ruth, "Wifey," gave to him and his children. How he lay down each night asking God's forgiveness and pulled the covers over as in a little death, and in the morning awoke again to claim a new birth—"a gift to be treasured." At the conclusion of all the festivities that young man tarried and tarried. For one so hesitant to come he seemed so hesitant to leave that 2nd floor dining room. Finally he came to me and said, "I have never met Dr. Homrighausen, will you please introduce him to me? He has made this place my Upper Room—the first I have ever known."

This week and next our esteemed colleague, Dr. Kerr, is delivering the Warfield Lectures on the theme "The Theologian as Person." It seems so timely, therefore, to quote him. At the occasion of the Christmas Banquet given by Dr. and Mrs. McCord—noting Dean Homrighausen's retirement—Dr. Kerr said, "It is impossible to talk of 'Homy' without speaking of Ruth and all their home meant to faculty families and to students and to returning graduates." And then Dr. Kerr penned these words as the concluding two sentences of his memorial citation in *Theology Today*, "So many of us will miss him so much. They don't make them like 'Homy' anymore."

When the Rev. Professor Dean Elmer G. Homrighausen died on January 4, 1982, there were no survivors. One never became his survivor. But there are so many rich inheritors—his family, Ruth, and Richard, Paul, daughter Ruth, and David and Mary and John and so many more are part of his family. He embraced us into it. In President McCord's words, "The earth is not as happy a place without 'Homy.' Princeton seems underpopulated."

Because we are inheritors and not survivors we shall honor him with the gladness of our privileged work, and our extending friendships, and our thanksgiving to God.

Lefferts Augustine Loetscher

1904-1981

THE Faculty and Administrative Staff of Princeton Theological Seminary records with sorrow the death, on November 19, of our longtime colleague and friend, Lefferts Augustine Loetscher. For forty years he enriched this campus with his graceful presence, contributing substantially to the advancement of theological education, and, in his quiet way, devoting his life and energies to the Glory of God. In our sadness at his passing from our midst, sorrow is tempered with thanksgiving for his warm friendship, his professional integrity, and his unwavering commitment to the whole enterprise of the Christian Church.

Lefferts Loetscher was born, July 24, 1904, in Dubuque, Iowa. When his father, Frederick W. Loetscher, was called to Princeton Seminary to teach homiletics and then church history, the family occupied the campus residence at 98 Mercer Street. Lefferts was graduated from the Lawrenceville School, Princeton University, the Seminary, and from the University of Pennsylvania where he received both a Master's and a Doctor's degree in history.

He served as minister and pastor in Presbyterian churches in Reading, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia before being called in 1941 to teach American Church History at Princeton Seminary. Within a year or two of this date, John A. Mackay, then the President of the Seminary, added a dozen new, younger members to the faculty. Lefferts was one of this group, a true-blue Presbyterian by background and persuasion, and one of the first in the country to specialize in the field of American church history.

In addition to Seminary and church committees, of which he had his share, Dr. Loetscher served as a Corporator of the Presbyterian Ministers Fund and as President of the American Society of Church History. He was the author of *The Broadening Church* (1954), *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (1938; rev. ed. 1958), *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents* (two volumes, 1960, 1963, with H. Shelton Smith and Robert T. Handy). He acted as general editor for the two-volume supplement of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1955), and, with Maurice W. Armstrong and Charles A. Anderson, he prepared *The Presbyterian Enterprise—Sources of American Presbyterian History* (1956). He contributed articles to the *Grollier Encyclopedia*, the *World Book Encyclopedia*, the *Encyclopedia Americana*, *Collier's Encyclopedia*, and the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

In recent years, and especially in his retirement, Dr. Loetscher devoted himself to a major interpretive biography of Archibald Alexander, the first professor and moving spirit of Princeton Seminary. With his usual meticulous detail, the work expanded almost out of control, but he completed the manuscript some months before his death, and the publication of this definitive work is now in process.

Three comments about Lefferts Loetscher's scholarly and theological interests may be singled out for attention. First, he believed deeply that general history could be approached best by concentrating on some significant particular history. He chose his own Presbyterian heritage, of which he became an undisputed

authority, to illumine the whole Christian landscape. His was an inductive method that dared to take the local with full seriousness in the interests of the common good.

Secondly, he was, as his closest associates knew, committed heart and soul to the causes of social justice. His own ethics sprang from Christian convictions, and if he was theologically conservative, he was socially and politically liberal. Many faculty and students were surprised, as they should not have been, that Lefferts Loetscher marched in the front line at Selma, Alabama, making his own way down and back, witnessing quietly and without publicity to his hurt at oppression and his hope for a better day.

And thirdly, we must note, perhaps with some professional envy, his steady succession of doctoral students who themselves carried on the best ideals of their mentor. No teacher could ask for a finer living memorial.

There is an old local saying that you're not a real Princetonian until you have a cemetery plot. Lefferts Loetscher lies buried in the sacred soil of Princeton Cemetery among family, friends, and so many famous historical figures he knew so well. Princeton was home for most of his life, and he was a loyal, solid citizen. He loved this Campus and this Seminary. He knew about, and lived through, many of its controversies. He walked up and down the full length of Nassau Street every day, so regularly you could set your watch by his afternoon stroll. He magnified his calling and has entered into his reward.

To his wife Grace Miller Loetscher, to their children John and Elizabeth, and to his brother Frederick, we extend our deep sympathy and our abiding affection.

Otto Alfred Piper

1891-1982

FORTY-FOUR years ago during the 1937-38 academic year at Princeton Seminary, Otto A. Piper began his career among us as guest professor of Systematic Theology. For that first year, the Seminary catalog lists him for one course only, a far cry from the heavy schedule he was later to carry. That one four-hour theology course was taken by the senior class of 55 students, including among their number Bryant Mays Kirkland and Bruce Manning Metzger.

In a very real sense, Dr. Piper came to Princeton as a refugee from his homeland in Germany. Born in Lichte, educated at the Universities of Jena, Marburg, Paris, and Munich, graduated from Göttingen in 1920 with the Doctor of Theology degree, Dr. Piper taught first at Göttingen as a university lecturer and assistant professor and then at the University of Münster where he succeeded Karl Barth in the chair of theology. It was the beginning of the Hitler era. Articles from the pen of Piper fifty years ago appearing in *Der Morgen*, *Notre Temps*, *Die christliche Welt*, and in other journals show Dr. Piper as a bold defender of freedom and an outspoken critic of the emerging Nazi regime. In the October 1932 issue of *Die christliche Welt*, he writes that the church which does not dare to take a position toward the ruling economic order may possibly say many edifying things concerning the order, but at the same time it does not speak God's Word but only the word of anxious people. In the November issue of the same publication he makes a plea for pacifism. Coming from one who knew firsthand the bitterness and pain of soldiery in the German army during World War I, the plea is not strange. It is completely erroneous, says Piper, to say that pacifism weakens the bones in view of the fact that God has called us to establish peace, and that call demands courage. In the same issue, he warns of the illusions latent in gatherings of German and French youth as they plan for a "New Europe" and of the noisy demeanor of the German Führer that has won for the Führer the trust of a small circle of friends in France. Small wonder that the Münster professor was imprisoned and then exiled from his native land. After teaching for three years at the University of Wales, he came to Princeton. During his first year, in addition to his one course, he gave the Stone lectures on "The Christian Interpretation of History." In this way, the most fruitful period in his life began.

In 1941, he became the Helen P. Manson professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis. In 1942, the "refugee" from Deutschland was naturalized and found his new "homeland" in Princeton, a place that he always loved and where he taught with distinction until his retirement in 1962.

Dr. Piper was accustomed to a heavy load of teaching. For the 1942-43 academic year (39 years ago), the catalog lists the following courses as his responsibility for the year: Gospel History (prescribed first year course), Synoptic Gospels (prescribed second year course), and Apostolic History (prescribed third year course). In addition, he taught the following elective courses: The Parables of Jesus, Sacraments in the New Testament, the Gospel of John, the Exegesis of

Romans, and the New Testament Interpretation of History. Further, that same year, he taught a prescribed third year course, Biblical Theology of the New Testament, a seminar on The Making of the New Testament, and a one-hour course on Methodology of New Testament Studies. The total teaching load adds up to 22 hours, or an average of 11 hours each of the two semesters—a rather full teaching load, shall we say, reminding us that “There were giants in the earth in those days” as well as in earlier times (Gen. 6:4).

Dr. Piper was one of the prime movers behind the doctoral program at Princeton which began in the fall of 1940 under Dr. Mackay. In 1960, under the presidency of Dr. McCord, the Seminary issued a bibliography of Princeton Seminary doctoral dissertations which were written between the years 1944 and 1960, listing 89 dissertations in all, 21 of which were done under the tutorship of Dr. Piper.

What shall one say of this man? Truly he was a scholar, a minister, and a faithful friend. As scholar, his teaching was accompanied by more than 20 books (in German, French, and English) and a list of journal articles that occupies eleven pages in the *Festschrift* published and presented to him in his honor in 1962, the year in which he retired (*Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*). Statistics are often deceptive. One of the entries compressed into three lines mentions in rapid order seven separate articles by Dr. Piper published in Collier's Encyclopedia (1950). His writing was both frank and forthright, as seen, e.g., in his long review in *Interpretation* of Bornkamm's *Jesus of Nazareth*—a review bearing the revealing title, “A Unitary God and Jesus as his first Theologian.” Quite often his writing was directed toward issues of the day, e.g., his question on the morality of the Nuremberg trials as seen in his article, “Vengeance and the Moral Order” (*Theology Today*, 1948).

His guest lectureships included appearances at the University of Heidelberg, in Campinas in Brazil, in Montpellier in France, and at the University of Edinburgh as well as at numerous theological schools in the United States. He was, in addition, a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and at one time president of the American Theological Society. His erudition drew us to him. All of us who are his graduates testify to the unselfish way in which he gave time to us, especially in the critical dissertation stage. One of the most moving tributes to Dr. Piper's scholarship arrived a few weeks ago in the form of a beautiful card in remembrance of his ninetieth birthday last November. The card was a booklet containing a lengthy greeting in German sent by theological faculties on the continent, in Great Britain, and in the United States including names of individual professors in Heidelberg, Münster, Tübingen, Göttingen, Basel, Strasbourg, Bonn, Berlin and others. As the names of individual professors at these institutions were read to him, it was fitting that Dr. Piper could say in response, “I am surprised that so many have remembered my birthday.”

As minister, he was a member of New Brunswick presbytery, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. His ministry, however, extended far beyond presbytery boundaries since his was *diakonia* or ministry in the New Testament sense of the word. As Dr. McCord stated in his “Appreciation” in the *Festschrift*, Dr. Piper gave unstintingly of his time to the cause of European relief during and

after World War II. In recognition of this *diakonia*, on April 26, 1960, Dr. Piper was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit by the president of the Federal Republic of Germany. His ministry has had overtones in the world. He was a delegate to the ecumenical conferences at Lausanne (1927) and at Oxford and Edinburgh (1937). His ecumenism was represented in the classroom in that he attracted students from Mennonite, Baptist, Lutheran, as well as Presbyterian communions. He was always present at chapel. Somehow he maintained an extensive correspondence with fraternal workers in the ecumenical church in the world.

Dr. Piper was also a good friend. One of his students from Minnesota tells of his first meeting with Dr. Piper: "He drew me into his home, and sat me down as though he knew me already!" Another from British Columbia relates, "Though often buried in books at his desk, he was always accessible." Nature held a special beauty for him. He would tell us when the crocuses bloomed in his yard and was pleased when he could show us a new rose from his garden. The Friday afternoon teas at the Pipers were a constant reminder of the solid friendship of the professor with his students. Conversation at those teas was wide-ranging—from some political crisis to some burning theological issue, to his moral and written support of a Presbyterian minister in Cincinnati in the minister's refusal to pay his income tax, to some special challenge facing a former student in an overseas post. At times, there would be a few slides—from a summer conference in Wisconsin or, on one occasion, from a retreat in which Dr. Piper participated in Japan with The Original Gospel Movement. In appreciation for those Friday teas, his students would annually have a dinner with the Pipers as their honored guests.

Dr. Piper loved his family. A son, Manfred of Langhorne, Pennsylvania, and a daughter, Ruth K. White of Arlington, Virginia, survive him and can themselves witness to the ways in which that love was shown to them.

Dr. Piper has been called a proponent of *Heilsgeschichte* (cf., e.g., his introduction to a twentieth-century printing of J. C. von Hofmann's *Interpreting the Bible*, but especially his classic, *God in History*). He has also been considered an evangelical ethicist (cf. his latest book on *Christian Ethics* as well as earlier monographs in German, French, and English on sex and marriage). Preeminently, he represented to us in life and word deep piety wedded to meticulous scholarship. But since Dr. Piper more than once defined himself as a biblical realist, it may be that we best learn who this man was in a series of articles in *The Christian Century* (February-March 1946) under the title, "What the Bible means to me." It is here that he describes his pilgrimage of faith—from an agony of soul amid the prevailing scientific treatment of the Bible, where he wondered if the pursuit of a theological degree was at all worthwhile, to an understanding and appropriation of biblical faith. After he tells of his conflict with political powers, of jail, and of exile, he has this to say: "I had to endure the vitriolic attacks of fundamentalists who denounced me as a disguised modernist and the haughty disdain of liberals who could not understand that a critical scholar could believe that the Bible is the Word of God." He goes on to tell of the privilege he has

often had of making friends with both theologians and laity, devout lovers of the Bible, in many countries. He says:

One who is struck by the saving message of God will approach the Bible as a learner. Gone is the presupposition that one already knows everything of the nature and purpose of the Father of Jesus Christ. One will rather read it in a state of constant expectancy and when the light of truth dawns on one's heart, be prepared to give up any view of God and human life previously held.

(CC, March 6, 1946, p. 301)

To "approach the Bible as a learner . . . in a state of constant expectancy"—this may be the real key to Dr. Piper's life and ministry among us. As he has entered into the joy of his Lord, we have become the responsible heirs of the rich legacy of his life and ministry which many of us knew so well and miss so much.

BOOK REVIEWS

Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction, by James L. Crenshaw. John Knox Press, Atlanta, 1981. Pp. 285. \$16.50 (cloth), \$9.95 (paper).

James Crenshaw is one of the leading specialists in the Old Testament wisdom literature today, and this volume probably represents the best contemporary introduction to that literature. There are a number of other important recent works in this area, but none of them, not even Gerhard von Rad's well-known *Wisdom in Israel*, can take the place of Crenshaw's new book.

He begins by defining wisdom, sketching the world of wisdom, and tracing the sapiential tradition. Following this general introduction, he devotes separate chapters to Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Sirach. He combines his treatment of Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom Psalms, and other odds and ends in another chapter. Then this is followed by a chapter on wisdom's legacy, one on Egyptian and Mesopotamian wisdom literature, and a brief concluding chapter. The whole work is written in dialogue with the ongoing discussion in the field, and while one is never in doubt about Crenshaw's own point of view, he cites the contemporary literature fully enough that one can quickly gauge the strength of opposing points of view.

Much in Crenshaw's very independent treatment, both in his criticism of rival scholarly views and in his own positive theses, is convincing and helpful. One thinks especially of his rejection of the assumption that maxims moved from the wholly secular to the religious, or of his equally incisive critique of the dominant views of the rise of skepticism. He is probably correct when he argues that (1) "skepticism belongs to Israel's thought from early times; (2) it extends far beyond the intelligentsia, and (3) it springs from two fundamentally different sources," one theological, the other epistemological (p. 196). His characterization of the basic thrust of the different biblical wisdom books is also suggestive, at least for pedagogical purposes: "To sum up, Proverbs searched for knowledge, Job for presence, Qoheleth for meaning, and Sirach for continuity" (p. 63).

As might be expected, there is also much that one may disagree with, both on the pedagogical level and on the factual. Some of Crenshaw's translations from the Hebrew will appear strange

to readers who do not know the periodical literature. He has sometimes adopted lexicographical suggestions from G. R. Driver and others without noting the basis for these translations. This will not bother scholars unduly, but if the volume comes to be used as a text in seminars or colleges as it should and probably will, students who cannot find such meanings in their Hebrew lexicons will be puzzled. On the pedagogical level, one might also question why the chapter on Egyptian and Mesopotamian wisdom literature is placed at the end of the book.

On the factual level, this reviewer was not convinced by Crenshaw's rejection of any meaningful historical base for the Solomonic legend. Here I think von Rad's historical reconstruction, hypothetical as it may be, still accounts for the few facts we know more adequately than Crenshaw's alternate view. To turn to a point of detail, Crenshaw's definition of the "better saying" as an "excluding proverb" seems to me inadequate. He rejects the term "comparative proverb" because he says, "The saying does not attempt to determine the better of two good things; instead, it announces that one is good and its opposite is bad" (p. 69). But this is not always the case. The fruit and income provided by Dame Wisdom might be better than gold and silver (Prov. 8:19), but the wise did not regard wealth as bad. The problem is that most of these sayings actually contain more than two elements; there are usually both good and bad elements on both sides of the comparison, so the choice is often between the lesser of two evils. Proverbs 17:1, for instance, does not suggest that a dry morsel is better fare than a fatted calf, but that peace and quiet is so much better than strife that it makes the less attractive meal more palatable. Obviously if a third choice were available, the wise would prefer the fatted calf with peace and quiet. To mention a last point of detail, one may also quarrel with Crenshaw's non-mythological identification of leviathan as both a whale and a crocodile (pp. 110-111). There are other debatable points, but these examples are sufficient to indicate the kind of details I have in mind. Some of them have very little effect one way or the other on the larger issues, but in some cases they can be crucial to understanding the wisdom outlook on life.

These critical remarks, however, should not obscure the fact that this is an important, provocative, and very readable book. Sometimes Crenshaw appears to overwrite, to strain for

stylistic effect, but one is seldom in doubt of his meaning. Though his style never achieves the eloquence of some of von Rad's more felicitous passages, Crenshaw, at his worst, is far clearer than von Rad. To coin a new "comparative proverb," better is clarity in scholarly exposition than eloquence with obscurity.

J.J.M. ROBERTS

Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah, by George W. E. Nickelsburg. Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1981. Pp. xx + 332. \$19.95.

This volume is designed primarily as a first introduction to the Jewish literature of the so-called intertestamental period. It fulfills that task very well. Nickelsburg is one of the major participants in current scholarly discussion concerning the literature of this period, and his mastery of the different currents in contemporary discussion is reflected in this book. He has also made significant original contributions to this discussion, but this book, by virtue of its introductory character, emphasizes the present state of the question more than Nickelsburg's own original ideas.

The treatment is roughly chronological in character, with an attempt to provide a brief historical and sociological background for the discussion of each body of material, but the material that is impossible to date with any certainty Nickelsburg lumps together in one chapter entitled "The Exposition of Israel's Scriptures." This includes almost all the testament literature, *Joseph and Asenath*, the Genesis Apocryphon, Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, and the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

Nickelsburg's discussion is on a consistently high level, but I found his treatment of Daniel particularly helpful. The other high point was his discussion of the Enochian literature where he has made some of his more important original contributions. Scholars may be disappointed that Nickelsburg has avoided long discussions of technical detail, but for its purposes, this is probably the best such introduction presently available.

J.J.M. ROBERTS

Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography, by Bruce M. Metzger. Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1981. Pp. x + 150. \$17.95.

Professor Metzger is well-known as Chairman of the RSV Bible Committee and one of the world's leading textual scholars, as well as learned in all aspects of biblical study. Among his many publications in the textual field one thinks particularly of his general treatment of *The Text of the New Testament* and his textual commentary on the third edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament.

Palaeography is important as a discipline ancillary to this field, as well as a science in its own right. A glance at the bibliography in the present volume shows how much palaeography has advanced since I studied it under Professor William H. P. Hatch more than thirty years ago.

Metzger has produced a book that will be of service to beginning and advanced scholars in palaeography, and also to thoughtful non-specialists who love the Scriptures for their content, the romantic history of their transmission, and the beauty of many ancient manuscripts. It has a place on the coffee table of the amateur as well as in the scholar's study.

There are 45 plates of manuscripts, including fragments, of books of the Old and New Testaments. The introductory chapters are comprehensive, including the history of the Greek alphabet, the pronunciation of the language, and the making of ancient books. One who works through Metzger's volume can learn how to read a manuscript, collate it, and estimate its date.

Each plate is provided with a full description and often a transcription. The choice of manuscripts illustrates the development of styles of writing from the 2nd century B.C. to the 15th century A.D.

Metzger has also chosen passages that are of special interest to readers, as a few examples will show. Plate 2 is a fragment of Exodus from Qumran Cave VII. A page from Codex W contains the "Freer logion" inserted in Mark 16:14-15 (Plate 16). The only known fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in Greek, found at Dura-Europos, is exhibited as Plate 8. The page chosen from Codex Vaticanus (B) contains the end of II Thessalonians and the beginning of Hebrews (Plate 13). The Koridethi codex (Theta) at Matt. 27:16-17 has the "Jesus Barabbas" reading (found in a few other authorities) in the form "Jesus Bar Rabbas" (Plate 25). Codex Laudianus (E, Plate 22) is of interest because it is the earliest to contain the Ethiopian eunuch's confession of faith (Acts 8:37), and also for its history. Archbishop Laud presented it to the Bodleian Library, but it is also known to have been used

by the Venerable Bede and was later owned by Boniface, the pioneer English missionary to Germany. Metzger also presents examples of the famous codices on purple parchment.

Princeton alumni will note that two of the selections are from manuscripts in the University Library, the Scheide papyrus (Plate 10) and an 8th-century codex of the gospels (047, Plate 23), and two from the Seminary Library, a papyrus fragment of Revelation (0169, Plate 12) and a 12th-century gospel lectionary (l 303, Plate 38).

The price is very moderate for such a splendid example of printing and bookmaking.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

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Karl Barth-Rudolf Bultmann Letters 1922-1966, edited by Bernd Jaspert, translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, MI, 1981. Pp. xiii + 192. \$13.95.

Karl Barth Letters 1961-1968, edited by Jürgen Fangmeier and Hinrich Stoevesandt, translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, MI, 1981. Pp. xv + 382. \$18.95.

These two recently translated volumes of Barth's letters are part of the huge *Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe* in process of publication. They make for absorbing reading and provide a wealth of insight into the thought, personality, interests and times of this giant of twentieth-century theology.

Extending over a period of more than forty years, the correspondence between Barth and Bultmann is a remarkable record of an abiding friendship despite deep and unresolved theological differences. The two men clearly valued each other's work and made sincere and repeated efforts to "understand" each other. But their divergent priorities and presuppositions made mutual understanding exceedingly difficult. At the height of their controversy in 1952 Barth likened their relationship to that of "a whale and an elephant meeting with boundless astonishment on some oceanic shore." Bultmann complained that Barth was insufficiently critical in his interpretation of Scripture, that he ignored

the great contribution of modern existentialist philosophy and had consequently adopted uncritically the older ontology of patristic and scholastic dogmatics, and that his theology was continually threatened by a lapse into mythological and objectivistic ways of thinking and speaking. For his part Barth charged that Bultmann required the New Testament witness to conform to a presupposed anthropological canon, that he made theology the handmaiden of Heideggerian philosophy, and that his hermeneutical program led to individualism and subjectivism. During the years of the German church struggle, their theological disagreements acquired a political dimension. In 1934 when Bultmann quietly took the oath of allegiance to Hitler which Barth refused to take unless the clause "so far as I can responsibly do so as an Evangelical Christian" were added, Barth thought he could detect the practical, political consequences of their differences on the relation between Christology and anthropology. Nevertheless, despite their profound differences, they remained in conversation with each other. Their exchanges were always frank but friendly, critical but respectful. On a number of occasions each was a guest in the other's home. They arranged many face to face meetings so that they could converse at length "over beer and a pipe." "Be sure," Barth wrote to Bultmann in 1927, "that I have no intention of giving you up, even though I may be silent for so long. . . . I am happy and grateful that you do not give me up." Some thirty-five years later Barth wrote in the same spirit to his life-long antagonist and friend: "I have recently seen a nativity by Botticelli that was previously unknown to me. Up above . . . are the angels, in the middle are Joseph, Mary, the child, the oxen and the asses, and down below are three couples embracing one another, one of the couples consisting of two really old gentlemen who are joyously smiling at one another ('Peace on earth . . .') . . . let us be like these two."

The second volume contains 325 letters of Barth written between 1961-1968 to an extraordinarily wide range of people—world-renowned theologians, the Pope, artists, students, prisoners, family members, former parishioners, a childhood sweetheart. The collection gives readers a glimpse of the rich and complex humanity of Barth as no other volume from his pen does. Barth insisted that nothing genuinely human is alien to the Christian, and this volume of letters illustrates his point. Here we meet the lover of Mozart (the index shows more refer-

ences to Mozart than to Luther and Calvin combined!), the amateur historian fascinated by the American Civil War, the political theologian continuously engaged in probing the meaning of world events in the light of the church's message and mission and shrewdly commenting on current social and political issues. Barth writes a letter to a German prisoner contemplating suicide ("Regarding your prayers, how do you know that they are in vain? God has his own time . . ."). He writes to his grandniece who is disturbed by thinking that she has to choose between the biblical creation story and the theory of evolution (like comparing "an organ and a vacuum cleaner," Barth declares). He writes consolingly to a despondent old friend ("Tell me, good Gertrud, do you have financial worries as well? If so, that God's Kingdom may not be in word only but also in power, I can and will very gladly help you out"). But while showing real pastoral sensitivity to common folk who seek his help and advice, Barth pulls no punches when speaking to his fellow theologians. He applauds Moltmann's *Theology of Hope* but argues that Moltmann will only be able to develop his eschatological theology adequately within a Trinitarian framework (a remarkable comment in view of the subsequent development of Moltmann's thought). He writes to Tillich that while they understand each other and remain friends, materially "we can only contradict and oppose one another from the very foundation up." To Karl Rahner he writes: "Let us not talk about the pope, let us talk about Jesus Christ." Barth is sometimes abrupt, frequently humorous, occasionally outrageous (of Dorothee Soelle he writes: "*That* woman should keep silence in the church!"). Above all else there is an unmistakable joy and vitality in these letters. They reveal a theologian who in the evening of his life is still capable of being astonished and of provoking astonishment from others at the surprising and ever new grace of God.

Not only scholars and pastors but lay people as well will find in these volumes, and especially in the 1961-1968 letters, an unparalleled resource for understanding Karl Barth the extraordinary person as well as the exceptional theologian.

DANIEL L. MIGLIORE

The Logic of Theism: An Analysis of the Thought of Austin Farrer, by Jeffrey C. Eaton. University Press of America, Lanham, MD, 1980. Pp. xxiv + 262. \$10.50.

This is the first full-length treatment of the entire corpus of the late Austin Farrer, Warden of Keble College, Oxford, covering his philosophical, biblical, and devotional writings, and including in its purview his posthumously published sermons and lectures. It promises to remain the standard work for many years. The author shows convincingly and fruitfully that there is a fundamental unity to Farrer's work, in contrast to the commonly held view.

Farrer had an original and creative mind, making distinct contributions to every branch of theology he tackled. First there is his pioneering work in biblical interpretation. It is he who introduced us to the idea that revelation is primarily through the medium of master images, and who stressed the role of imagination in the biblical revelation, both originally and now. He did not leave his suggestions untested, but in several detailed studies of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, as well as the book on Revelation, he displayed the fruitfulness of his approach both for biblical studies and for theology. At times his imagination is said to have carried him too far, but if his influence has been less than the quality of his ideas would lead one to expect and hope, this is probably because his methods cannot be easily imitated.

Farrer was a lone voice during the heyday of neo-orthodoxy. This led many to ignore his work and misunderstand it as "natural theology." Actually Farrer called his philosophical work "rational theology," meaning thereby an attempt to uncover the philosophic *assumptions* present in theology. In particular, he was interested in what the human mind had before it when it thought about God, who transcends all our concepts. How then is it possible to speak of God and deal with him? This question stirred Farrer to his finest thought and devotion. He was perhaps the earliest self-conscious practitioner of what has now become a recognized field: Fundamental theology. Unfortunately, the field has yet to discover Farrer, whose work has not been surpassed or rendered irrelevant. It is here that Farrer will probably be revived. Nonetheless, those who have read his book on the problem of evil (*Love Almighty and Ills Unlimited*) or have read his sermons and devotional writings will not give any of them a back seat. They sparkle with wit, good humor, intellectual brilliance and toughness of spirit which always make the reader come away a better person.

Happily Eaton's book, which is highly sophisticated philosophically and theologically, does not neglect this side of Farrer's work but in-

tegrates it with the philosophical and biblical core. Eaton helpfully includes an analytic classification of Farrer's many published sermons under themes, which should make them even more accessible to the serious preacher.

Perhaps it should also be mentioned that Eaton has taken the trouble to examine Farrer's deeply held and forceful objections to Process Theology. It came to Farrer's attention late in life and occupies only a small part of his published writings, but what is there is important, and Eaton presents it in all its telling, trenchant force.

Despite the difficulty of much of Farrer's writing, caused not by his lack of writing skill but by the difficulty of the problems, Eaton himself has not only mastered it sufficiently to be a sure-footed guide, but himself writes with a fluid, clear and elegant style.

DIOGENES ALLEN

The Church in the Theology of the Reformers, by Paul D. L. Avis. (New Foundations Theological Library, ed. Peter Toon.) John Knox Press, Atlanta, 1981. Pp. viii + 245. \$18.50.

Paul Avis' *The Church in the Theology of the Reformers* draws together three important themes in the ecclesiology of the sixteenth-century Protestant reformers, and highlights the often neglected interrelation of these different aspects of a single doctrine.

The first part discusses with admirable clarity the various nuances in the concept of the Church as it developed among non-Roman reformers. The focus is first upon the Christological center and the marks of the Church, with the problems attendant upon carrying out a definition based on the marks to its logical conclusions. It is clear that Avis approves the Anglican reformulation of the issue. Standing with the rest of the reformers on the question, "how can I obtain a gracious God?" Hooker and Field answer the related question, "where can I find the true Church?" pragmatically, empirically, with reference to "outward profession of faith, taken at its face value" (p. 71).

Part two treats the ministry of the Church. Avis rightly begins again with the Christological center, the proclamation of the Word as creating the ministry as well as the Church. Then follows the discussion of the different senses in which the priesthood of believers was understood, and a slightly one-sided treatment of Protestant pol-

ity under the headings of the reformed episcopacy and the godly prince (with a separate chapter on the English royal supremacy). Non-episcopal Protestantism gets short shrift and the sectarian radicals are nowhere. Including the magistrate under the godly prince is understandable. However, Avis passes rather too lightly over the ideal of ecclesiastical autonomy stemming from Oecolampadius in Basel and finding some measure of success in Calvin's Geneva. It also seems that the treatment of Theodore Beza and the presbyterians is somewhat simplistic (esp. pp. 123ff). The sharp distinction between Calvin and Beza neglects the decades of development in Beza's thought, which is systematically foreshortened when history is thus ignored. (There is no mention in bibliography or notes of T. Maruyama's excellent study of Beza's ecclesiology, which might have enabled Avis to discuss this point in more nuanced fashion.) Perhaps the clue to this neglect is partly a limitation of space. It is also partly Avis' obvious preoccupation with the presbyterian-episcopal struggle in the English Church, a concern which narrows his focus from Europe to England in the third generation of the Reformation.

The third section of Avis' book deals with the problem of the missionary vision of the reformers. Here "radicals" or "Anabaptists" come to the fore as the only non-Romans clearly oriented toward missionary outreach. However, Avis' strength lies in showing the existence of missionary consciousness among the "mainline" reformers. Obscured for us though it is by its obvious differences from the idea of missions inherited from the nineteenth century, the concept of the mission of the true Church is not, or not wholly, absent from the thought particularly of Martin Bucer, but also of Luther, Calvin, and others. Perhaps the best summary is to say that these reformers were primarily concerned with missions within Christendom, with christianizing the world within the church. The mission to the heathen was complicated for such reformers by the identification of the Turk with antichrist, though some efforts were made to evangelize in the new world. It is the radical reformers who looked to the possible conversion of the Turks. Avis also touches on the ambiguous relationship of Protestants to Jews—the early alliance which seemed to promise so much for the Jews but was in fact a false dawn.

The Church in the Theology of the Reformers is a remarkably well-written book, covering a broad spectrum of material with good judgment

and clarity. Particularly good is the discussion of the marks of the Church, with its distinction between *esse* and *bene esse*. Helpful also is the attempt to redress the balance on the question of the interest of the mainline reformers in missions. Occasionally, however, the clarity which delights by its neat outlines does not do full justice to the varied nuances, as in the discussion of Theodore Beza. It might perhaps have been well to define a bit more explicitly the scope of the term "reformers" in the title. The examples come from all facets of non-Roman sixteenth-century thought, but that is not clear in the beginning, and in fact the distribution of sources is not even, being (rather naturally) weighted toward the reformers of the English Church. Most criticisms are fairly minor, however, and Avis' book stands as a readable, lucid, and informed account of a vital doctrine, and its three conclusions are worth remembering: 1) the "remarkable agreement among the mainstream Reformers on the essentials of the doctrine of the Church" (p. 215); 2) "the 'catholic intention' of the Reformers" (p. 216); and 3) "the reluctance of the Reformers to accept the divisions between themselves and Rome and between one protestant Church and another" (p. 217).

ELSIE MCKEE

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The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach, by Jack B. Rogers and Donald K. McKim. Harper and Row, San Francisco, CA, 1979. Pp. 484. \$20.00.

I wonder who was involved in the first "Battle for the Bible?" Peter and Paul? Marcion? Perhaps Irenaeus? Then there are those later conflicts with which we are all familiar: Jesuits with the Vulgate pitted against Puritans armed with (or rather, dressed in) the "Breeches Bible." Even Thomas Jefferson had his own Bible with everything that hinted of the miraculous excised. There is probably nothing more Christian than to do battle over the Bible. From a physiological point of view, the Book remains alive and well today. Where there is movement, there is life. Even *Reader's Digest* has taken the hint.

Concerned over the present "disarray" in understanding the nature of the Scriptures among Christians, Rogers and McKim have attempted to delineate a moderate position which they label

"limited inerrancy" (Biblical infallibility limited to matters of "faith and practice" as they pertain to salvation). This, they claim, has been the normative manner in which Scripture has been read in the history of the church. Taking their cue from Karl Barth, they attempt to trace this position back through history. In Part I Rogers and McKim lay out what they perceive to be the classical roots of their conception of the form and function of the Bible. In Part II they attempt to analyze what is felt to have been an incorrect rationalistic response to Scripture.

Since the publication of this study the reviews have varied. Some were initially quite positive. Others, who at first were positive, have now grown cautious. More recently particular problems have come to light which, taken together, place this laudatory attempt at redefinition in jeopardy. In fact, one reviewer has labelled their project "Nestorian" in its attempt to ferret out fact from fiction in Scripture, the faculties of understanding from the Holy Spirit in faith, thus producing "a fideist polemic against all attempts, past and present, to formulate a rational apologetic for the Christian faith." Others have faulted the study for insufficient breadth or sociological frame of reference. One critic has pointed to the frequent citation of secondary literature which, unfortunately, occasionally misrepresents the intent of primary source references. Indeed, a forthcoming study is promised, detailing many of the historical and conceptual errors which seem to mar this work.

All of this may be, but what bothers this reviewer most is the apparent a-historicism of the project. In what becomes a *leit motif* of their work, the authors argue that, "It was the saving message, not the form of the words, that was wholly from God" (11). Yet such a statement seems flat against the apparent attempt in much of the history of the church to guard the very form of the message as if our fathers and mothers of faith feared that in retelling the story differently a different gospel would be heard. J.N.D. Kelly offers us significant insight here with regard to the Patristic period as he notes that for Jerome we read of the human authors writing as God's instruments, exempt from error and adding nothing superfluous—similarly Origen (with qualifications) and Chrysostom. Furthermore, this was not some "mantic" theory of interpretation but one that emphasized the conscious role of the writer whose vision and mind were clarified (Hippolytus and Origen), who was in full possession of his faculties

(Epiphanius), who was normal (Jerome), and whose memory was stimulated to preserve it from error (Augustine). For each of these the form of the message was as carefully guarded as the message itself. The operation of the Holy Spirit and human understanding are seen to operate in tandem in the orthodox Patristic position. Indeed, as early as I Clement and the writings of Justin Martyr, the Gospels and writings of the Apostles are quoted as such together with the Old Testament. Such, I would hazard to guess, implies more than what Rogers and McKim have delineated.

Regrettably, our authors omit the early Latin Fathers in their analysis and move quickly to Augustine in their survey of the early church. Yet I would suggest that here as well the situation is not quite as clear as Rogers and McKim would make it out to be. Let me deal with this to some degree. "Error, for Augustine," our authors contend, "had to do with deliberate and deceitful telling of that which the author knew to be untrue" (31). It did not extend to the natural limitations of the writers. Yet Augustine writes that it is the Spirit who stimulated the mind of the authors of Scripture to preserve them from error (*Serm.* 246, 1). Much of Augustine's attitude toward Scripture can be seen to have been worked out in his prolonged epistolary correspondence with Jerome. It is here (*Ep.* 28) that he argues that were Scripture to err, God would then appear to be one that deceives whereas such is counter to his nature. That this implies more than Rogers and McKim argue (i.e. lack of error only with respect to the message, not medium of Scripture) can be seen, I think, from the context of Augustine's biography out of which these letters emerge. First, there is the fact that Augustine is concerned about deceit and what it is at this point in his life. It is now that he is working on other texts like *De Mendacio*. Further, it is at this time in Augustine's life when he has just completed fresh studies in the Scriptures (as reflected in the differences between *Ep.* 21 and 22) and has reaffirmed them, having earlier denigrated the Bible for its coarse language and perhaps primitive imagery. And while Augustine can continue to affirm the use of the Septuagint in local congregations (with its inaccuracies) for the cause of peace in the church, nevertheless the scholar or teacher of the truth is to strive to find the most accurate texts available. The allegorical or spiritual interpretation is the one Augustine strove to affirm, yet the efficacy of the Spiritual is enhanced by virtue of the belief that what is

ineffable has, in fact, clothed itself in history and event, has become a sign (*signum*) and as such has been faithfully recorded. In his *Confessions* (VII) Augustine writes that while Platonism had revealed much to him with respect to God's nature, yet "that the *Verbum* was made flesh and dwelt among us, I did not read there." What Augustine meant by this is debated but here I follow Cochrane and Gadamer, seeing this as an indication of Augustine's emphasis upon God's real involvement in the world through acts of creation and Incarnation. Augustine argues (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 4, 5-5.6, P.L., 34, 198-9) that before the fall man's understanding was watered by God, he had no need of the prophets' words. However, since that time he could no longer be nourished in this way but required rain from dark clouds, i.e., knowledge of God through human words (Ulrich Duchrow, *Sprachverständnis und Biblisches Hören bei Augustin*, 1965).

By way of Augustine an influential interpretative tradition passes on into the medieval period. During the millennium which runs on between Augustine and the Reformation important exegetical developments take place yet our authors devote only a scant 24 pages of text to this period. When we continue on, however, to the period of Protestant reform we find a cautious respect for the unity of the medium together with the message of salvation that is conveyed, again somewhat at variance from the picture outlined by Rogers and McKim. Whereas it has been fashionable to see in Luther an implicit subordination of the form of the Gospel to its saving message, recently David Lotz (*Interpretation*, 1981) has underscored the close connection between Luther's variously defined "Word of God" with the gospel, "with the spoken Word, the oral proclamation of Christ." Lotz writes, "For Luther, of course, there can be no access to the gospel and to Christ apart from Scripture. One may not, in Luther's name, drive a wedge between the written Word on the one hand and the personal and the spoken Word on the other" (263). This is not to imply that there is no relative ranking in Luther but it is to note the close connection between the medium and the message. If we turn our attention to Calvin, again a similar situation confronts us as Calvin draws out the close connection between Scripture and the Spirit (cf. Dowey, *Knowledge of God*, 91). Finally, turning to the First and Second Helvetic Confessions we note at the outset the close connection between the biblical canon and the Word of God (*Scripture*

canonica verbum Dei). Again, this is not to say that there is no relative ranking but it is to note the close connection continually stressed between the medium and the message, between the Scriptures as products of human authors in particular historical periods and a divine author as guarantor of their veracity.

The project as outlined by Rogers and McKim smacks too much of history by deduction with insufficient inductive analysis and numerous serious omissions. The authors are quick to argue that through the principle of accommodation God limited himself in respect to the quality of truth available in the biblical texts. Nevertheless, following current sociological theories of knowledge, most of the discrepancies which are often described as existing between biblical descriptions of events and scientifically recognized knowledge today can be quickly dismissed when the books are either read properly, their literary form observed, or when we acknowledge that the inspired authors were only writing of phenomenon as it appeared to their senses in the given explanatory framework of their day. As Gerhard Ebeling put it, "The more we fully recognize the *historical* character of the understanding, the wider becomes the hermeneutical problem." Such "understanding" implies "hearing" the text in addition to criticism (Peter Stuhlmacher, *Historical Criticism*, 1975). As the church has attempted to hear that authority (*auctoritas*) in the text it has been led, rightly, to minimize the chasm between the medium and the message, the means and the originator (*auctor*).

In the end we are all interested in better ways of hearing (observing) the Bible. Together with Rogers and McKim we need to affirm that there is always a relative primacy given the message over the medium, the "material" principle (Jesus Christ in his person and work) over the "formal" principle of Scripture. Yet to drive a wedge between them ruptures the *auctoritas* contained therein and seems strangely to run counter to the church's historical interest in carefully guarding the medium. In the final analysis I suspect that much of the conflict over one's emphasis—upon the "formal" or "material" principle—reflects the groups and interests to which one belongs (cf. Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 1973) and degree of coherence and scope of the schemes for understanding and classifying available to one. This study represents a great deal of effort, one only wishes it had been more carefully crafted as a piece of historical scholarship.

In Scripturarum campo, si placet, sine nostro invicem dolore ludamus.

Jerome, *Ep.* 81

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Preachers and Politicians: Two Essays on the Origins of the American Revolution, by Jack P. Greene and William G. McLoughlin. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, 1977. Pp. 73. \$7.00.

With the reemergence of various groups claiming this nation's religious heritage it is helpful to read two such well-argued positions with respect to the origins of the American Revolution: one focusing upon political developments as they led to the outbreak of hostilities, the other upon the role of religious and cultural values as they developed together with the Great Awakening, 1735-1765 (as dated by the author). The fact that these essays are set next to each other, in a single slim volume like this, helps to focus important issues. Both essays were originally read as public lectures held at the Worcester Art Museum in 1977 and published as Volume 87, Part 1, of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. Both contain important bibliographical citations for this on-going discussion.

The first essay is by Jack P. Greene, "'A Posture of Hostility': A reconsideration of Some Aspects of the Origins of the American Revolution," pp. 5-46. Here the author draws our attention to the rough consensus on the roots of the Revolution: 1) Prior to the 1760s the colonists lacked a sufficient motivation for separation. 2) Growing colonial hostility developed toward Great Britain as a result of closer economic and political control sought over the colonies with the end of the Seven Years' War (1763). 3) There developed perceived colonial criticism of the idea that the King-in-Parliament had absolute sovereignty over all of the British dominions. Greene proceeds further in order to sharpen these contentions with his own argument that Great Britain put herself in a "Posture of Hostility" as early as 1748. The argument is plausible and takes us into vital political and economic issues in the years prior to the Revolution.

William McLoughlin, in "'Enthusiasm for Liberty': The Great Awakening as the Key to the Revolution," pp. 47-73, summarizes the now familiar position of Alan Heimert (*Religion and*

the American Mind, 1966) with further anthropological insight taken from Kenelm Burridge (*New Heaven, New Earth*, 1969) and others. While McLoughlin's position is more fully laid out in his longer work, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (1978), nevertheless this essay represents a fine summary of the topic with reference to the relationship between the First Great Awakening and the American Revolution. In a helpful and succinct way the author draws our attention to the nexus of values at work in American society prior to and on the eve of the Revolution.

These are two important essays, then, which draw our attention to two aspects of a problem which continues today as the values of the nation are debated: the Revolution as either a simple colonial rebellion against English imperialism—perhaps even with aspects of a social revolt—or the Revolution as a commitment to independence, republicanism (both with a distinct moral stamp), and perhaps even

A new Jerusalem, sent down from heaven,
Shall grace our happy earth—perhaps this
land, Whose ample breast shall then
receive, tho' late,
Myriads of saints, with their immortal
King,
To live and reign on earth a thousand
years,
Thence call'd Millennium. . . *

*(Philip Freneau, *Poems of Various Subjects*, London, 1861, pp. 50-51, as used by McLoughlin, p. 73.)

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

Christian Nurture, by Horace Bushnell, with an introduction by John M. Mulder. Reprinted from the 1861 edition published by Charles Scribner. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, MI, 1979. Pp. 407. \$7.95 (paper).

We can thank Baker Book House once again for reprinting a text that is a classic in the history of Christian thought, *Christian Nurture* by Horace Bushnell. John Mulder, formerly of Princeton Theological Seminary, now President of Louisville Seminary, gives us a helpful introduction to this text and to Bushnell. For those who are unfamiliar with Bushnell, his theology was constructive and innovative, his views on religious education, according to D. Campbell Wyckoff, "the basis for the modern develop-

ment of religious education" (*The Gospel and Christian Education*, 1959).

The book, *Christian Nurture*, is divided into two sections, one dealing with the doctrine and the other with the mode of Christian education. The author begins by arguing that there must be a form of instruction which can be called Christian nurture: "It will be the Lord's way of education, having its aims appropriate to Him, and, if realized in its full intent, terminating in results impossible to be reached by any merely human method" (9). The aim of this education is "that the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise" (10). To achieve his aim Bushnell takes us through a series of observations first from the "human" side and then justifies them by ideas he believes are laid down by God in Scripture. After delineating the doctrines of Christian nurture, the author outlines the mode for this process of instruction, including chapters on such areas as when such nurture should begin, family government, the use of Sundays and holidays and practice of family prayer.

Christian nurture is set opposite to what Bushnell calls "ostrich nurture," or the idea that children do not require training and may develop according to their own natures. This question remains today. In the context of discussing it, Bushnell continually addresses the relationship between individualism and organic unity: a question which takes us into such areas as the expansion of the Kingdom of God through Christian nurture and revivalism (Bushnell was opposed only to the excesses of revivalism), church membership, the function of the family and its role together with the church and state in creating a virtuous national community. Quoting the saintly Richard Baxter, Bushnell writes that "education is as properly a means of grace as preaching." While somewhat dated, the book is provocative and awakens us to a vision of what we once sought as a people for ourselves and our families. In our day, now heralded as the "Age of Divorce" and individual assertion by prophets, pundits and popularizers, Bushnell's program of "Christian nurture," his sense of the importance of Christian "corporateness," might be timely reading for us all.

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith, by James Billington. Basic Books, New York, NY, 1980. Pp. viii + 652 (notes and index). \$25.00.

A decade ago Kenneth Clarke gave TV viewers a glimpse of the revolutionary age that followed hard on the heels of rationalism and romanticism. This series on "Civilization" began by affirming its subject and ended by depicting its collapse. The fleeting glance viewers were given portrayed scenes with which we are all familiar, namely those of fanaticism, terrorism, carnage, pillage, destruction, and dead bodies. And all in the cause of the revolution to end all revolutions. In his excellent book Dr. Billington takes his readers behind the scenes, or rather into the "back-rooms" where the sparks of revolution were struck. As a historian he goes beyond the process of history to describe the human wills and intellects that initiate the events of history. By doing so he helps his readers to be more aware of the metaphysical base of the political revolution.

While the nineteenth century evangelicals were claiming the world for Christ in their lifetime, the revolutionaries were claiming it for an impersonal religion of abstractions named ideology, "a new method of observing facts, inferring consequences, and accepting nothing not suggested directly by sensation." This is the acceptable creed of the twentieth century; the norm of intellectual and moral standards. Or so it would seem so far as the witness to it of the mass media and commencement speakers is concerned.

The ritual of this secular religion is simple enough. Its words are commonplace ones such as, liberty, equality, and fraternity—use of many trinities: materialism, socialism and communism. These are the kind of words which articulate the new—or not so new—faith. Dr. Billington's metaphor, indicated in his title, is fire. The revolutionary is thus the new Prometheus who has gone far beyond the boundaries reached by the old one of the ancient myth. He has done more than steal fire from the gods. He has created the new sun whose life-giving beams are to shine upon the new secular order; the one advertised in our dollar bills: NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM.

Although Christian culture may have provided the setting for the new revolutionary drama, the new mystics and prophets redesigned the stage with backdrops from pagan antiquity, and revised the old script by inserting old characters dressed up to look like the new men of the "brave new world" with the new language to declaim. "The fascinating fact is that most revolutionaries sought the simple, almost banal aims of modern secular man generally. What was

unique was their intensity and commitment to realizing them. This faith and dedication made the revolutionary trailblazer bigger than life—and deeply controversial. Their progress represented, for some, humanity emerging on wings from its cocoon; for others, a malignancy attacking civilization itself" (p. 18). For those dedicated to the vision of "humanity emerging on wings," the revolutionaries were the philosopher kings who had the power to manipulate and shape reality. Presumably they have been replaced by those who are revered as the new priestly caste of "administrators."

The reader is guided through the various levels of the ideological revolution's deifications all the way from its preexistence, through its incarnation in the French Revolution to its second coming in the October Revolution of 1917. The sacramental nature of the profane's sanctification is seen in acts such as the musical "hierodrame" celebrating the anniversary of the Bastille's seizure in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Dr. Billington provides his readers with interesting examples of how the old liturgy may be brought up to date. Take, for example, these words of the fraction, "Friends, this is the *body* of the sun which ripens the harvest. This is the *body OF THE BREAD* which the rich owe to the poor." In order to do justice to these liturgies of the new order the priests of ideology moved their celebrations from Christian cathedrals to pagan parks.

The new ideological formulations gave meaning to the emerging new order. Thus liberty described freedom in the constitutional republic. Fraternity is the nation, and equality the classless society. No longer were intellectuals limited by the concepts of theology and philosophy. They were provided with the new method by which human beings could be classified and analyzed as biological machines. Under the tutelage of Saint-Simon and others, the new science affirmed the historical quality of truth and the industrial-technological revolution as the means of completing the ideological one. His "New Christianity" was developed through the medium of left-wing Hegelianism to the *actus purus* of Marxism. Thus the new theology has as its trinity that of negativism, materialism, and atheism. The new messiah suitable for the new order of materialism was Marx, a man well versed in the scriptures. Pentecost was the printing press, and the apostles were the journalists; thus Goodwyn could write, "Since the discovery of the printing press . . . the mission of the editor has by degrees superseded that of the parson-

priest, the desk has become more useful than the pulpit, the leading Sunday article more saving than the drawing Sunday sermon." I am sure that Walter Cronkite would see his more advanced medium in similar terms. It is worth remembering that this was the sentiment which produced the yellow press, and wealth for the publishers from the pockets of the working poor.

The flames which attempted to burn up the last structures of Christendom also provided the fire for the mills, the foundries, the railways, and of course for the sacred power of electricity.

The raging fire burned its way into World War I. Some intellectuals welcomed it as the medium of revolutionary change, some as the preening scalpel of evolution; and some saw it as the end of liberal democracy. But it did not burn itself out. There was the Bolshevik Revolution with its High Priest, Lenin. Dr. Billington marks this event as "the first major break in the basic unity of European civilization since Luther."

Now that the new ideology seems to be becoming the old orthodoxy we may agree with Dr. Billington's suggestion that this political religion is approaching its end, and that it will be seen "to be only a stage in the continuing metamorphosis of older forms of faith," one which may "prefigure some rediscovery of religious evolution to revalidate democracy in the twenty-first."

Fire in the Minds of Men is an invaluable book for anyone interested in the history of ideas and the nature of civilization. It provides a mine of information for the theologian or preacher. Dr. Billington has taken the time to do the research in depth and breadth that many interpreters of the times would like to have done. In doing so he has provided the preacher with the ideas and language of the marketplace where the Good News is to be proclaimed winsomely. But more than that he presents a picture of the Godless situation, which has been called euphemistically "man come of age." This age of pride—our original sin—is ever with us. What is novel about it is described by T. S. Eliot in his, "Choruses from 'The Rock'" as:

Men have left God not for other gods,
they say,
but for no god;
and this has never happened before.

Along with Dr. Billington's quiet optimism in "the continuing metamorphosis" is his opinion that the religion of revolution may isolate itself. "When a Cuban national revolution came

into conflict with the imperial power of the first nation to be born in revolution, the United States, it attracted considerable sympathy—but more among well-fed young students in the overdeveloped West than among the hungry in the underdeveloped world. Utopia for many intellectuals had simply returned to a tropical island in the New World—which is where the intellectuals of early modern Europe had always imagined it might be." Not only is it true that man cannot live by bread alone, but also that he cannot live by illusion. The practical ends "of the Revolutionary Faith" are to be counted in the deaths of millions, the labor camps, and the construction of new illusions.

ERNEST GORDON

The Story of Modern Art, by Norbert Lynton. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1980. Pp. 382. \$35.00.

This handsome book contains over 300 illustrations of which 85 are in color. Its author is Professor of the History of Art in the University of Sussex and was for several years Director of Exhibitions for the Arts Council of Great Britain. He is a former pupil of Sir Nikolaus Pevsner.

It is difficult to be original in surveys, but in this task Mr. Lynton has succeeded by virtue of a challenging mind that abhors stereotypes or clichés. He reacts strongly against the view that all that mattered came from France, or, later, from the United States, insisting that German Expressionism, Italian Futurism and the art of the Russians were also of great importance. Furthermore, while admitting the importance of groups of artists like the Fauvists, Cubists, Expressionists, Surrealists, and Abstractionists, he also insists that differences between artists grouped in a movement were as significant as their similarities. These presuppositions of his vigorous writing show that he has an informed and independent eye for the varied artists of our century. In addition, he is well aware of the literary tendencies of various countries during this period, as he is of the biographies and manifestoes of the visual artists. The book is so fascinatingly written that it can be recommended to lively persons wanting an introduction to the bewilderment they have previously felt on the subject of modern art.

The flavor of the book can be suggested—it is too elusive and complex to be caught—in the following citation in the final chapter on "The

Artist in Modern Society": "What is remarkable about most modern art is not its harshness or ugliness but rather its almost incessant warmth, charm, and elegance. But these attractions are not of the sort the wider public is prepared for. They appeal to a more innocent and unguarded response than the public can manage; their appeal is too childlike, too primitive. . . . What

Western man has lost is the kind of tempo that goes with looking and the stillness that goes with focused attention" (pp. 349-350). This book has as much sociology as esthetics in it. That is its challenge and its value. If you don't want to be made to think, don't buy it!

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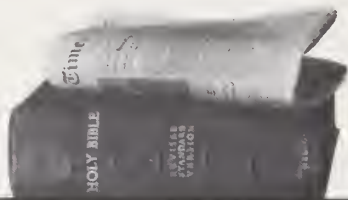
*"The ancient languages are the scabbard
which holds the mind's sword" (Goethe).*

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